

ENCOUNTERING EVIL: APOTROPAIC MAGIC IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

by

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Abstract

This thesis critically examines apotropaic magical texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls found at and near Qumran. It focuses on the danger of an encounter with and ways of protection against evil beings. Magic is employed as a scholarly description for a series of accounts of activities that are conceived of and probably performed with the purpose of altering reality by protecting an individual or a group of people. Seven texts will be analysed, namely: Apocryphal Psalms-11Q11; 4QExorcism ar-4Q560; Songs of the Sage^a-4Q510; Songs of the Sage^b-4Q511; 8QHymn- 8Q5; 6QpapHymn- 6Q18; and 4QIncantation- 4Q444. The methodology focuses on a separation between active and other agents, placing action and performance at the centre of the research. This perspective reveals a richer and more complex picture than the dominance of a small number of personalized figures suggested by the texts from Cave 1 and earlier scholarship. The range of evil beings reflected in the full corpus attests multiple phenomena, emerging from an array of miscellaneous traditions. The idea of fear and an atmosphere of constant threat of an encounter with the malevolent influence of evil figures emerges as a prominent feature in the selected texts.

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Abbreviations Including Frequently Cited Sources

ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series
BDB	Brown, F., S. Driver, and C. Briggs, eds. <i>The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon</i> . Repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1991.
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BNP	<i>Brills New Pauly: Encyclopedia of the Ancient World</i> . Edited by Hubert Cancik. Online Edition. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e309270 .
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CUP	Cambridge University Press
CurBR	<i>Currents in Biblical Research</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJD 3	Baillet, Maurice, Józef T. Milik, Roland de Vaux, and H. W. Baker. <i>Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran</i> . DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
DJD 7	Baillet, Maurice. <i>Qumrân Grotte 4. 3 (4Q482-4Q520)</i> . DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
DJD 23	García Martínez, Florentino, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Adam. S. van der Woude. <i>Qumran Cave 11.2: 11Q2-18 and 11Q20-31</i> . DJD 23. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
DJD 29	Chazon, Esther G., Torleif Elgvin, Esther Eshel, Daniel K. Falk, Bilha Nitzan, Elisha Qimron, Eileen M. Schuller, David Seely, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and Moshe Weinfield. <i>Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2</i> . DJD 29. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

DJD 37	Puech, Émile. <i>Textes en Araméen, deuxième partie</i> . DJD 37. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008.
DJD 39	Tov, Emanuel, ed. <i>Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series</i> . DJD 39. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSS	Dead Sea Scrolls
DSSEL	Tov, Emanuel, ed. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library</i> [Electronic Resource]. Brigham Young University; Leiden: Brill, 2006.
EDEJ	Collins, John J., Daniel C. Harlow, eds. <i>The Eerdmans Dictionary of Early Judaism</i> . Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010.
EDSS	Schiffman, Lawrence H. and James C. VanderKam, eds. <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> . Vol. 1-2. New York: OUP, 2000.
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
Isbell	Isbell, Charles D. <i>Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls</i> . Eugene OR: Wipf and Stock, 2009.
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Supplement Series
LSTS	The Library of Second Temple Studies

ODJR	Berlin, Adele and Maxine Grossman, eds. <i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Jewish Religion</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: OUP, 2011.
OED Online	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online</i> . Oxford: OUP.
OUP	Oxford University Press
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
TDOT	Botterweck, Gerhard Johannes and Helmer Ringgren, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament</i> . Trans. John T. Willis et al. Rev. ed. 8 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974-2006.
ThWQ	Fabry, Heinz-Josef and Dahmen, Ulrich, eds. <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zu den Qumrantexten</i> . 3 vols. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2011-2016.
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

1 Introduction

The Dead Sea Scrolls are one of the biggest archaeological finds of the 20th century, and the full corpus has only recently been published. This group of over 900 texts deals with a wide variety of themes. The enormity of this discovery has not been fully realized yet, and a great deal of work remains to be done.

One example of an underexplored field is the nature and function of a significant number of texts that presuppose some kind of ancient Jewish magic in the Scrolls. This is true especially when we look at apotropaic magic. My research examines a selection of texts from the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls that attest to ideas or concepts that can be characterized as magic with protective character directed against evil beings. In the past decade, a small number of scholars have begun to explore the place of magic in ancient Jewish culture.¹ However, this particular strand in the corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls has received limited attention since the publication of the full corpus.²

The panorama of evil beings in the texts from Qumran is very complex and has yet to be explored in depth. The terms “demon” and “demonology” need to be reconsidered in the light of the full evidence published, with particular focus on the adequacy of utilization of

¹ Gideon Bohak, “Jewish Myth in Pagan Magic in Antiquity,” in *Myths in Judaism: History, Thought, Literature*, ed. Ithamar Gruenwald and Moshe Idel (Jerusalem: The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 2004), 97–122; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (Cambridge; New York: CUP, 2011); Gideon Bohak, “Prolegomena to the Study of the Jewish Magical Tradition,” *CurBR* 8.1 (2009): 107–50; Esther Eshel, “Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period” (PhD, Hebrew University, 2000); Esther Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment [=Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der Israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt]*, ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395–415.

² Bohak, “Prolegomena,” 119.

the terminology in a Second Temple Period Jewish context. The major issues associated with the subject of evil beings incorporate questions on the acceptance of magic by the community behind the Scrolls, a disputed point with very different conclusions by major scholars.³

A number of scholars have already undertaken fundamental research on the subject of demonology in ancient Judaism and in the Scrolls in particular. Their contributions deal with a variety of aspects and texts, yet overall this is still an underexplored field. In what follows I will first summarize the problems with terminology when it comes to the study of demonology in an ancient Jewish context and how scholars treated the subject of magic and demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls, exploring the most substantial works published in this field at this moment. Then I will move to some methodological questions that are going to guide the rest of the work.

1.1 Demons

Demons is a particularly difficult term to work with, especially in light of the popular meaning and signification that the word implies. The mention of the term usually brings to the mind to a person educated in the 20th century, in an occidental system of beliefs, a figure of condensed evil, capable of possessing human bodies to act according to the demon's will or even with the ability of convincing people to do evil things. One possible, and current, representation of a demon is a humanoid with red skin and horns. Literary fiction, films and

³ Eibert Tigchelaar and Hindy Najman, "A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 26.103 (2014): 305–25; Charlotte Hempel, "Rules," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming); Molly M. Zahn, "Parabiblical Texts / Rewritten Scripture," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming).

comics offer plenty of examples of this type of representation in a variety of ways. Conscious of the popularity of this picture I consider it important to start this research with a discussion of terminology.

Terminology is a feature that often shapes the way someone is going to look at the evidence. In the words of Bohak, “the terminology we use might pre-condition our analysis of the texts and cultures we study.”⁴ Knowing that the way a person looks at the evidence defines the way that this evidence is being interpreted I will start this submission with a discussion of the most appropriate term to refer to beings characterized by evil actions or intentions described in the texts from Qumran. A number of scholars have treated the term “demon” and the way that it is applied to the Dead Sea Scrolls and to Jewish texts produced before the first century CE. This developing part of the research exposed several issues that arise from current terminology applied to the sources that I am working with.

The word “demon” is a problematic one, with an extensive variety of meanings over the centuries. The term comes from the Greek word *δαίμων*, and its etymology is uncertain. In the texts from Ancient Greece demon does not refer to a single type of phenomenon. In Hesiod “demon” is used for the soul of the deceased (Op. 121-126), and in philosophical texts, like Plato (Symp. 202d-e), demon can refer to a being that intermediates between Gods and humans. The term was not necessarily related to evil beings, but the association with bad actions was common (Odyssey 4. 2073-79).

⁴ Gideon Bohak, “Review of Demons: The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment [=Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der Israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt],” *JSJ* 37.1 (2006): 123-27, 125.

Chapter 1

In later antiquity, the Greek term *daemon* is extended to include concepts from other cultures, as pointed out by Petersen.⁵ This demonstrates how recognizing demons in cultures that do not have this concept is a very old problem. Frequently demon is a category of beings applied to any cultural context without a discussion of whether the term is applicable to this context.⁶ This can lead to a failure to appreciate the particular character of distinctive mythologies.

Via the Greek and Roman worlds, the term demon was to become very important for Christian literature, and from there it spread in the occidental world. Demons and exorcism are concepts present in the New Testament. As I commented before, these are concepts wide spread in popular belief still today, with high appeal in the industry of entertainment. This variety of meanings makes it very difficult to define a single view for the question, a problem also noted by Lars Albinus⁷ who explains that the term *demon* had so many different meanings that it is impossible to define it in one exclusive way. Considering the difficulty of the concept, Petersen suggests that a possible approach to look at this is to treat the notion of demon as a cross-cultural analytical concept. The author also outlines:

In other words the perennial use of the concept – whether in the ancient Greek tradition, the Roman, Jewish, and Christian adoption of that tradition or the modern

⁵ Philo, *De Gigantibus* 6 employs the word demons as a synonym to angels. Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “The Notion of Demon: Open Questions to a Diffuse Concept,” in *The Demonology of Israelite-Jewish and Early Christian Literature in Context of Their Environment* [=Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt], ed. Armin Lange, Hermann Lichtenberger, and K. F. Diethard Römheld (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 395–415, 21–24.

⁶ Scholars, such as Bennie H. Reynolds III, are currently grappling with the appropriate terminology to refer to the different types of evil beings attested in cultures that do not have this concept, such as ancient Judaism. Bennie H. Reynolds III, “Myth and Metaphysics in Hellenistic Judaism: The Case of Demonology” (paper presented at the 2013 SBL Annual Meeting, Baltimore, 2013).

⁷ Cf. Petersen, “The Notion of Demon,” 25.

religio-historical category – does not depend on a particular meaning attributed to the concept.⁸

He is suggesting, therefore, that one term does not need to be fully understood to be used by a group or population, and the term demon is not different in this particular aspect.

Summarizing, Petersen proposes that “demon” can be used as a broad concept:

The concept of demon has proven to be a particularly apt category in cases in which humans have negotiated, philosophized, theologized and reflected upon the relationship between the human and the transhuman world- whether that world be ascribed a negative or a positive value.⁹

This definition is useful in approaching what could be considered demon in the context of the texts from Qumran.

However, working with “demon” as a category as defined by Petersen does not solve all the problems with this terminology. The texts from Qumran present more than one type of being that are a point of contact between the “human and transhuman world,” However the Qumran beings are different from the Greek evidence and do not have an ambiguous role, being evil and good at the same time.

One of the most common Hebrew terms in the Scrolls for referring to a being that is a point of contact between the human and transhuman worlds is רִוּחַ.¹⁰ However, the term does not exclusively define “demon”. Actually, *ruah* is a difficult term to define. Possible meanings

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰ For detailed analysis to the term רִוּחַ in the Dead Sea Scrolls see: Arthur Everett Sekki, *The Meaning of Ruah at Qumran* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989).

include “angel” and “demon”, but in the Scrolls from Qumran, the term is also used for “man’s spirit”, “God’s spirit”, “wind” and “breath”. In some cases, it is possible to define the meaning by syntactical analysis, although the meaning of angel and demon have the same grammatical pattern.¹¹ Alexander prefers to define *ruah* when referring to angel or demon as referring to a non-corporeal normally invisible “being”¹². Alexander’s definition of “demon” is related to this last referred explanation of “ruah”, but going a little further: a demon is a “non-corporeal being which is neither human nor angelic, but which causes harm and mischief to humans in a variety of ways”¹³.

Because there is a necessity of using a generic term to refer to my object of research, I will follow Alexander’s definition of a non-corporeal being for demon and apply the term “evil being” as a generic term. Again, this is not a definitive terminology, but rather a useful heuristic tool. Through the following chapters, other aspects of this terminology are explored. Close attention is dedicated to implicit references to malevolent forces at work in the Qumran movement’s perception of its past and current challenges.

Another question related to the definition of demon is to sort out what is a reference to an evil being and what is a reference to internal struggle un-related to external forces. In a study devoted to sin in Second Temple literature Miryam T. Brand¹⁴ includes discussions of a number of “demon-related” texts from Qumran. For the purpose of Brand’s analysis, the

¹¹ Both “demon” and “angel” as meanings for “ruah” are marked by the masculine gender, rather than the more common feminine, which marks a personalization of the term. See *ibid.*, 187 and 222.

¹²Accordingly to Alexander “demons” are distinct from “angels”, even from the fallen ones. Philip S. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 331-53, 332.

¹³*Ibid.*, 2: 332.

¹⁴ Miryam Brand, *Evil Within and Without: The Source of Sin and its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013).

texts that she uses as primary sources are divided into those presupposing an internal (human) or external (demonical) source of sin. According to Brand, the belief that sin is caused by demons was widespread in the Second Temple period,¹⁵ and it was an important feature in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In this sense defining and separating texts that specifically deal with sin caused by evil beings and texts that refer only to evil beings can be hard. The way that evil beings can interfere in the life of humans is another question that defies a simple answer. Brand's work on sin explores the problem and demonstrate the complexity of the evidence. No single vision on the subject of the interference and sin emerges from the material. My research aims to create a detailed panorama of the belief in evil beings in Qumran, especially considering the full corpus published today.

1.2 Sectarian, Qumran and other Designations

This thesis talks mostly of a particular corpus of texts found in eleven caves at or near Khirbet Qumran in the middle of the 20th century. I will need to refer to the group(s) of people that deposited the Scrolls in the caves.¹⁶ I am aware that all the terms used to describe the group(s) of people (i.e. Essenes, Qumran Community, Qumran Sect, Yahad) are to varying degrees limited and too rigid. In order to refer to "(an) organized group(s) set apart, to a greater or lesser degree, from outsiders",¹⁷ that had contact with the texts and was associated for a time with Khirbet Qumran I will use "movement associated for a time with Khirbet Qumran". I will also refer to "the readers of the scrolls", understanding readers

¹⁵ Ibid., 149–50.

¹⁶For a recent comprehensive study on the "Qumran Sect" idea and development through the years of scholarship see Gwynned de Looijer, *The Qumran Paradigm: A Critical Evaluation of Some Foundational Hypotheses in the Construction of the Qumran Sect* (Atlanta: SBL, 2015).

¹⁷ Charlotte Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context: Collected Studies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 2.

as a very loose concept, including reading (aloud or quietly), listening to someone else read or listening to someone to recite texts by heart.

Recent scholarship has moved from the early almost certainty of the “sectarian” label¹⁸ to question the idea of the movement as a sect. García Martínez proposed that the scholarly debate move from definitions of sectarian/non-sectarian or biblical/non-biblical to an understanding of the corpus from Qumran as a collection of religious texts from a Jewish group living in Palestine during the time of the Second Temple period.¹⁹ In this broad group, various “clusters of text” can be identified. Hempel expanded on this idea and pointed out that clusters should not be delimited only by the boundaries of individual documents, that frequently these boundaries are “porous”.²⁰ Following both reflections, I will avoid the terminology of sectarian/non-sectarian unless quoting from authors who used it.

1.3 Defining magic

The definition for magic from the Oxford English Dictionary is:

The use of ritual activities or observances which are intended to influence the course of events or to manipulate the natural world, usually involving the use of an occult or secret body of knowledge²¹

This is expanded with the remark that the different kinds of relationship established between magic, religion and science is of fundamental significance for the history of the

¹⁸ The first publications, from Cave 1, had showed a collection of manuscripts that were very likely produced by the same group. The early scholarly debate had concentrated on discovering particularities and trends of this group and its literature. Later the full publication of the corpus showed that only a small part of the texts represent characteristics considered sectarian. Florentino García Martínez, “¿Sectario, No-sectario, o qué?,” *RevQ* 23.91 (2008): 383–84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 393.

²⁰ Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 3–4; Looijer, *The Qumran Paradigm*, 30–37.

²¹ “Magic, n.,” *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, OED Online (OUP), <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/112186>.

term in English. In fact, these three aspects were the focus of enquiry for research on magic in modern scholarly discourse. The classic definitions of Edward Burnett Taylor, James Frazer, Emile Durkheim, Bronislaw Malinowski, mainly sociological and anthropological theories from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, still carry a substantial weight when discussing the subject.²² The focus is on the separation of magic-religion-science. However important, this idea of separation was not always clear. The second c. CE North African writer Apuleius of Madaura when defining magic (as part of his defence after having been accused of practicing magic) regarded it as part of worship. Opposing it to religion would make little sense to him. For Apuleius magic was part of religion, and its legitimacy was the result of its function and not from its essence.²³

However, the status of magic as part of religion was already questioned in antiquity²⁴ and can equally be questioned today, depending on the definition applied to the concept. Some scholars opt not to use the term “magic” based on its long derogatory history. Many of the uses of magic as the opposite of religion and/or science are heavily influenced by Eurocentrism and racism. Religion was understood as a higher expression, while magic was disregarded as superstition or a form of expression of illogical, un-developed societies. Following that view, those societies that practiced magic would at some point develop religion and after that science, just like Europe. Many scholars have debated the problems of

²² Michael D. Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” *Magic, Ritual, and Witchcraft* 1.1 (2006): 1-23, 1.

²³ Peter Schäfer, “Magic and Religion in Ancient Israel,” in *Envisioning Magic*, ed. Hans Gerhard Kippenberg and Peter Schäfer (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 19-44, 7–9.

²⁴ The Hebrew Bible, for example, explicitly prohibits the practiced of magic (e.g. Deut 18:11-12; Exod 22:18), but at the same time the Legislation against magic and divination is not precise. Some magical activities were permitted, as long as practiced by the right people and in the right manner. Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*, 34.

such divisions, and I will not enter this debate here, but it is important to acknowledge the complicated history of the term, as well as the lack of consensus about it.

Rather than applied research on the use/understanding of the term in antiquity, I will use magic as a heuristic tool, a working definition that will facilitate my interpretation of the past. Following the definition from the OED, I do not claim to unpack the term, but use it to analyse a series of practices. On this definition magic is part of religion. When magic is understood as “the use of ritual activities or observances which are intended to influence the course of events”²⁵ every religion incorporates magical practices. Those practices were probably not seen as magical from the perspective of practitioners. I choose to use “magic” and not “liturgy” or “ritual” because magic is a term that incorporates more aspects of analysis. It is clear that rituals by themselves cannot be understood as only one type of action, as highlighted by Jutta Jokiranta,²⁶ but every religion often has a mixture of different types of rituals. These establish a system where group identity is strengthened through rituals which, when frequently repeated, result in social bonding through emotional charged performances. Either ritual or magic are used by myself to some extent as part of my “inability to fully escape the shackles of modern and almost inevitably Western concepts and terminology”, as defined by Bailey.²⁷

It is the inability to avoid a Western perspective that constitutes part of the other main problem in the study of magic: we rarely have an insider view. The lack of inside

²⁵ “Magic, n.” OED.

²⁶ Jutta Jokiranta, “Ritual System in the Qumran Movement: Frequency, Boredom and Balance,” in *Mind, Morality and Magic: Cognitive Science Approaches in Biblical Studies*, ed. Istvan Czachesz and Risto Uro (New York: Routledge, 2014), 144-163, 147.

²⁷ Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” 6.

understanding creates a field where scholars tend to overlook potentially important nuances. It is true that the problem is compounded when studying ancient magic, since no one can be an “insider” of the past. To partially solve this, it is possible to look at studies produced by contemporary practitioners of magic in order to be able to nuance our understanding, and thus use partially an emic perspective for the analyses.²⁸ I am aware such a “partial solution” is not perfect and raises many new problems, such as the validity of a modern experience to understand ancient societies.

The elements that compose a magical ritual are far more complex than can be perceived from a limited number of written records. Physical objects and the body are fundamental pieces of magical practice and frequently ignored when we look at the social understanding of magic. As Bailey has noted:

Magic too is far more often studied in terms of how it is understood and reacted to, mostly through prohibitions, than in terms of how it is enacted.²⁹

The more common approach prefers an etic perspective, favouring the outsider view of the phenomena. By ignoring the enactment while studying, we take away from the magic part of what constitutes it. Magic is in essence an act, and the element of practice is a fundamental part of it.³⁰

²⁸ Many scholars have applied an emic perspective to the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See, e.g. Lidija Novakovic, *Raised from the Dead According to Scripture: The Role of the Old Testament in the Early Christian Interpretations of Jesus' Resurrection* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Anders Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon - Genre, Textual Strategy or Canonical Anachronism?,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 285–305; George J. Brooke, “Reading, Searching and Blessing: A Functional Approach to Scriptural Interpretation in the יחד,” in *The Temple in Text and Tradition: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert Hayward*, ed. R. Timothy McLay (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 140–56.

²⁹ Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” 17.

³⁰ Nikki Bado-Fralick, *Coming to the Edge of the Circle: A Wiccan Initiation Ritual* (New York: OUP, 2005), 78–79.

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An act of magic involves the body of the magician (movements, chanting, etc.) as well as physical objects (athame, bowl, fire, ring, paper, etc.). Unfortunately, not many comparative studies have been done on the subject of the use of objects in magic³¹, especially in ancient times.³² The danger of anachronistic analyses is a concern, but the same danger exists in other areas and should not prevent us from exploring particular insights on our evidence. In conjunction with magic another important term is “incantation”, which for this thesis will be considered any type of formulaic magical text. Incantation is a structured procedure or wording, which when repeated in a particular way has a magical effect, often serving the purpose of protection.

After problematizing and clarifying the concepts of magic and evil beings used in this thesis, I will now turn my attention to how those subjects have been studied in the DSS.

1.4 History of Research

Most scholars who have dealt with demonology or magic in the DSS have treated the subject in a thematic way, incorporating these two concepts only as aspects of broader studies on different subjects. In this section I will explore the major issues to which scholars have devoted attention in relation to magic and demonology in the Dead Sea Scrolls. I will focus on those discussions that are most comprehensive and current.

³¹Some work has been done by scholars of classical antiquity, like Fritz Graf, *Magic in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 136–46; Daniel Ogden, “Binding Spells: Curse Tablets and Voodoo Dolls in the Greek and Roman Worlds,” in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe, Vol. 2: Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Stuart Clark (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 1-90, 71–79.

³² Bailey, “The Meanings of Magic,” 18.

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Magic and demonology are two interrelated categories. Talking about demonology is also thinking about magic, although it is important to note that these two concepts do not totally overlap.

The study of evil beings in Qumran is not a prolific field and scholars have only recently turned their attention to this subject. A number of scholars have addressed the issue of magic and Judaism from a number of different angles.³³

Eshel's doctoral dissertation about demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period offered an overview over this subject³⁴. More recently, Bohak³⁵ published several studies on ancient Jewish magic, which include reviews of earlier scholarship as well as a recent substantial study, where he talks about a "demonological awareness" in 1 Enoch, Jubilees and the Dead Sea Scrolls, which is something that I hope to explore more fully in the texts found at Qumran. I will focus mainly on Bohak's studies on the subject of magic, which are the most recent and detailed contributions on the topic. His book *Ancient Jewish Magic*³⁶ addresses concepts and problems that arise in the field of demonology and includes an investigation on exorcisms, a fundamental part of belief in demons.³⁷

³³The work of Ann Jeffers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) starts with Deut. 18:9 and explores magic and divination in Ancient Palestine and Syria. Schäfer, "Magic and Religion in Ancient Israel" offered reflections on the place of magic in Jewish religion, especially within liturgy. Peter Schäfer, "Jewish Liturgy and Magic," in *Geschichte - Tradition - Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, Vol. 1, ed. H. Cancik (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 541–56; Michael D. Swartz, *Scholastic Magic: Ritual and Revelation in Early Jewish Mysticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014) explored the social background of early Jewish mysticism, focusing on how imagination and magic were used to serve memory and scholasticism in the early Judaism.

³⁴Eshel, "Demonology in Palestine during the Second Temple Period." (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2000). Unfortunately her PhD is unpublished and I had not yet the chance to read it.

³⁵Bohak, "Jewish Myth"; Bohak, "Prolegomena."

³⁶Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*.

³⁷ A considerable number of the texts that include references to demons or evil beings are exorcisms. At least one of the texts that are usually considered related to evil beings from Qumran (4Q560) is commonly classified as an exorcism.

One approach to the question is centred on the idea that magic was a subject of interest and research by the readers of the Scrolls, but not a practice. Lange³⁸ follows this assumption, and argues that the attitude of the Essenes – often identified with the movement behind the Scrolls – towards magic and divination is one of a profound knowledge of different forms of magic, but ultimately rejecting this kind of practice. This position is probably influenced by the biblical evidence against the topic of magic.

Concluding in the opposite direction, García Martínez³⁹ suggests that the Dead Sea Scrolls testify to a particular development in ancient Jewish attitudes to magic, attesting at least two types of magic: exorcism and divination. According to García Martínez this is noteworthy against the context of the condemnation of magical practices in the Hebrew Bible (“You shall not practice divination” [Lev 19:26]; “You shall not let a sorceress live” [Exod 22:17] and others) and in the Enoch tradition (1 En 7:1; 8:3). The evidence found in the DSS for the practice⁴⁰ of exorcism (as attested on 4QExorcism-4Q560 and in Tobit- 4Q196-4Q200) is important for understanding the view of “demons” for this movement, and one of the examples of how “demonology” and magic are interrelated.

These last two positions of García Martínez and Lange show how two major researchers have arrived at two contradictory conclusions based on the same evidence. This eloquently testifies to the complexity of the evidence, which I hope to investigate afresh, especially considering the full publication of the primary sources.

³⁸Armin Lange, “The Essene Position on Magic and Divination,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995*, ed. John Kampen, Moshe Y. Bernstein, and Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435.

³⁹Florentino García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic from Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. J. N. Bremmer and J. R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 13–33.

⁴⁰ I am not saying that exorcism was a current practice in Qumran. I am stating that this practice is attested in the manuscripts.

Still following the idea that magic and evil beings are interrelated, Philip Alexander⁴¹ argues that the Scrolls “present a coherent and sophisticated demonology”, and that the level of organization and refinement has no known precedents in Jewish literature.⁴² This quotation reflects the widespread view that what we find in the texts from Qumran is a fully developed “demonology”, which continues to evolve in later Christian and Jewish demonology.

However, I find it fundamental to ask if we can apply the concept of “demonology” to what we found at Qumran at all.

Another point noticed by Alexander is that the demonology of the Scrolls is remarkably similar to the New Testament.⁴³ According to the author there is no evidence of a developed demonology in exilic or pre-exilic Jewish literature; there are texts that refer to spirits “behaving in malignant ways”,⁴⁴ but diseases and other human problems are caused by God as a form of punishment to the sinners. Alexander identifies the influence of Persian thought as fundamental for the development of a demonology in post-exilic Judaism, including the developments attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls⁴⁵.

Most scholars who worked on the subject acknowledge the variations and types of evil beings found in the texts from Qumran.⁴⁶ This particular issue shows the problematic nature

⁴¹Philip S. Alexander, “Incantations and Books of Magic,” in *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ: Volume 3.1*, ed. Emil Schürer, Geza Vermes, and Fergus Millar, Rev. ed. (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 342–79; Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; Philip S. Alexander, “Wrestling against Wickedness in High Places: Magic in the Worldview of the Qumran Community,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After*, ed. Stanley E. Porter and Craig A. Evans (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 318–37.

⁴²Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 331.

⁴³Ibid., 351.

⁴⁴Ibid., 350.

⁴⁵Ibid., 350–51.

⁴⁶Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*; Gideon Bohak, “Mystical Texts, Magic, and Divination,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming); Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; Devorah Dimant, “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary*

of the terminology for this subject in the Scrolls, as I discussed above. The presentation of different types of evil beings could demonstrate that we are dealing with a complex and pluriform set of phenomena.⁴⁷ Bohak points out that “In speaking of (good) angels versus (evil) demons, we should bear in mind the Qumranites’ own terminology, which was much more complex and included numerous types of good and evil angels and spirits, and several different types of demonic beings.”⁴⁸ The plurality of terms used to describe evil beings is easily confirmed by numerous examples that will be discussed at length in chapters 4 and 5.

Culture: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6-8, 2008), ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref, STDJ 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 235–56; García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

⁴⁷The solution presented in Enoch is, according to Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 337 that all demons share the same origin (as the offspring from the fallen angels), and the different names do not indicate different kinds of demons, but rather different activities associated with particular demons.

⁴⁸ Bohak, “Mystical Texts, Magic, and Divination,” 152.

2 Format and Method

Considering the panorama of positions on evil beings and magic, this thesis will adopt an inductive methodology and produce theory from the data. Since it is impossible to look at the data without previous assumptions, I am using a series of general questions as broad guidelines to delimit the data. After that I am turning my attention to a close look at the texts and from them formulate assumptions that are based on what is attested. I am aware that many of the questions are not going to be answered fully, but I choose to have them on my theoretical horizon in order to uncover as much evidence as possible from the texts. Where questions cannot be answered, the question is abandoned and new questions can be formulated. The following questions form the starting points of the research:

- What is the profile of magic and evil being-related material in the Scrolls from Qumran: is there a preponderance in Hebrew or Aramaic compositions?
- To what extent can the ideas on magic and evil being-related material in the Scrolls from Qumran be positioned in broader Second Temple Jewish Society?
- Do we find more implicit references to evil beings in the corpus than previous studies highlighted?

From this general outline of questions, a longlist of possible texts was delimited. The next step in this process was to read and prepare a working translation for the pre-selected manuscripts/passages. After that, in order to discuss and understand the evidence, I asked a series of questions of the evidence. All the questions were divided into three thematic groups (active agents, other agents and means for fending off danger). The format of this thesis follows the steps mentioned above.

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In what follows I will discuss the grounds for choosing which texts were included in this thesis and some aspects of the genre that can be important to understand the methodology used to group them together. Following this I will briefly summarize the scope of each chapter, adding to it a brief description of the topics that led to their delimitation in the present format.

2.1 The selection of texts and questions of genre

Texts are fundamental evidence for studying literate societies and practices. However, while recognized as important, the materiality of a text is sometimes overlooked in favour of its content. Focusing on the material evidence of the texts prompts some important questions: Why are the scrolls written? Why use the resources to make them?

The genre of a specific text can help understand how those who produced and/or read it perceived it. Understanding the genre of a text allows us to understand better its purpose and functionality. Recent scholarship has questioned not only the classification of texts into determined genres, but also the concept of genre and how to use it.¹ Although a classification of genres is a helpful tool, and most likely a necessary one, it should be used carefully, with the understanding that it does not reflect the way the texts were classified when produced and it is arbitrary.

¹ Tigchelaar and Najman, "A Preparatory Study of Nomenclature and Text Designation in the Dead Sea Scrolls"; Moshe J. Bernstein, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Jewish Biblical Interpretation," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel*, ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H Newman, JSJSup 83 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215–38; Mika S. Pajunen, "Bible," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, forthcoming); Zahn, "Parabiblical Texts / Rewritten Scripture"; George J. Brooke, "Genre Theory, Rewritten Bible, and Peshet," in *Reading the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essays in Method* (Atlanta: SBL, 2013), 115–35.

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References to evil beings are not confined to one genre, but occur in a variety of types of literature. The following paragraphs will map how literary genre relates to references to evil beings, allowing for the possibility that characteristics from more than one genre often coexist in one text.

I decided to work with the texts that are concerned with evil beings and can be classified as magical as defined previously. There are in the corpus texts like the Community Rule and the Damascus Document that mention and acknowledge evil beings, in primarily narrative contexts. The focus in this thesis is performance and action, and for this reason, I narrowed the scope to the texts that attest to magical practices, namely:

- Apocryphal Psalms-11Q11
- 4QExorcism ar- 4Q560
- Songs of the Maskil^a -4Q510
- Songs of the Maskil^b -4Q511
- 8QHymn- 8Q5
- 6QpapHymn- 6Q18
- 4QIncantation- 4Q444.

Tobit, Enoch and Jubilees are also not included since they cannot be considered primarily magical texts, even though they include elements of magic being described in the narrative. They lack references to magical practices. The focus of my research includes texts that may have been used in magical acts, rather than only refer to magic as a form of protection or a weapon. In this way, I am focusing on the materiality and activity of magic as related to evil

beings. The chosen texts are also the ones that provoked a lot of previous scholarly interest.²

I hope to construct a more comprehensive base of information to be able to identify subtle references in other texts in future research.

I deliberately chose a small group of texts to work with, focusing on the ones that include clear references to evil beings. Further research should be done in expanding the analysis to other texts from the DSS.

The group of texts from the DSS selected by this method will be referred to as magical texts related to evil beings. This is a working classification and by no means reflects how the texts might be grouped in other periods of history. The selection presented in this thesis should be understood as an open list that can be updated and expanded in future research.

To sum up, the selection is based first on existing lists of texts related to evil beings and magic elaborated by Eshel,³ Lange and Mittmann-Richert,⁴ Alexander⁵ but focusing on those with a close relation with magic as defined above. In this way I hope to construct a better base of information to be able to identify subtle references to magical actions connected to evil beings in other texts. In order to gain a fuller understanding of magic in the Scrolls this thesis will focus on those texts where evil beings are clearly referred as already identified by previous research, but with a focus on those texts that reflect magical practice.

²E.g. Jutta Leonhardt-Balzer, "Evil, Dualism and Community: Who/What Did the Yahad Not Want to Be?," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 121–47; Miryam Brand, "Belial, Free Will, and Identity-Building in the Community Rule," in *Das Böse, der Teufel und Dämonen - Evil, the Devil, and Demons*, ed. Jan Doehorn, Benjamin G. Wold, and Susanne Rudnig-Zelt (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 77–92; Mladen Popović, "Light and Darkness in the Treatise on the Two Spirits (1QS III 13 – IV 26) and in 4Q186," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 148–65.

³ Eshel, "Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 395–96.

⁴ Lange and Mittmann-Richert, DJD 39: 143.

⁵ Alexander, "The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

I chose a thematic analysis, and propose categories in which the different elements of the texts will be analysed. In what follows each of the categories will be briefly described. Their function is to create parameters for the analyses but keeping in mind that the parameters are fluid and not boxes for the texts to fit in. The aim of this research is to allow the particularities of the texts to be highlighted and not to enforce my understanding on what I believe they should be. A good example of how the texts have influenced the categories I am presenting is the lack of division between humans/otherworldly beings.

It became clear from many examples, noted also by others (e.g. Popović)⁶, that the separation between human and otherworldly worlds is not always clear. With that in mind, I decided to separate the categories based on the agency of the being and not its human/otherworldly character. This is a puzzling aspect. Considering that the goal is to understand the texts' underlying view on evil beings, how can I not see evil beings as separate beings from humans? The first thing to note is that due to the fragmentary state of the evidence this separation is often impossible to pin down. The second, and more important reason, is that as pointed by Popović this separation is not always clear.⁷ I would like to expand on this with the hypothesis that the division between humans/otherworldly beings might not have been considered necessary at all times. I still try to identify, if possible, whether a passage refers to humans and whether this is an important aspect of a passage.

⁶ Joseph L. Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)," *DSD* 19.1 (2012): 1–27; Mladen Popović, "Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism: The Two Spirits Treatise (1QS 3:13–4:26) and Other Texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life Gen 2:7 - The Problem of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George H. van Kooten and Jacques T.A.G.M van Ruiten. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 58–98.

⁷ Popović, "Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism."

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Considering the blurred lines between categories I decided to use the distinction of active and others for the beings presented, rather of human/not human. It is fundamental to recognize the fluidity of the categories. Active agents are the ones that are performing actions such as praying, praising, instructing, etc. All agents that are not active are categorised as “others”, and this includes those exposed to actions from other humans or from otherworldly agents and some whose role remains unclear.

2.2 Active Agents

In chapter 4, I will discuss the role of active agents (evil or otherwise) in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran. My primary focus will be evil beings, as defined previously in chapter 1.1, that are active agents, but in some cases, the line between an evil being and a being acting to punish is blurred. The actions attested in the selected texts can be intended to curtail the influence of evil beings, to protect someone, to exorcise an evil being or refer to a being inflicting pain, disease, despair to someone. The accounts of evil in the texts are not always clear.⁸

2.3 Other Agents

In a simplified scheme evil beings attack good beings, good beings either just suffer or act in some sense to find protection or counterattack. In chapter 5, I focus on other agents, those that are not actively acting in the texts.

2.4 Means for Fending off Danger

Protection against evil beings was achieved by a variety of means. Through the references to this type of aid for protection it is possible to understand some of the ways people might

⁸ As discussed above “evil” is a particularly difficult category to use.

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have acted in order to fend off the danger posed by evil beings. Chapter 6 focus on understanding the many ways that protection could be achieved.

2.5 Profile of Key Texts

Chapter 7 is an overview of the evidence debated in the previous chapter, but with a focus on each text. By profiling all the seven magical texts related to evil beings it is possible to highlight the distinctiveness of each one.

Before proceeding to the thematic chapters I will turn my attention to a description of the selected magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran used in this thesis. The next chapter will focus on a physical description of each text, followed by a concise analysis of the order of fragments and possible classification of the texts.

3 Key Texts

In order to analyse the magical texts related to evil beings it is necessary to first understand their physical state and peculiarities. The following chapter will explore the physical characteristics of the previously defined group of texts and the possibilities or classification and order of the fragments. All the translations in this thesis are my working translations, unless clearly stated. The passages that are studied in depth in the following chapters will be presented together with the corresponding analyses in chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7.

One of the challenges when creating the list of texts that are used in this thesis was delimiting which ones would be included. There are many lists produced by scholars that deal with the problem of a “demonology” in Qumran¹. However, many of these lists do not consider texts that were known before Qumran, like Tobit, or if they do, use them peripherally. The main reason is that most authors were investigating the sectarian and/or Qumranic view of “demons”/ “demonology”. Another problem is that many details of the evidence have been analysed, but little has been done so far on the bigger picture.

The order of the texts presented in this chapter is the following and does not necessarily reflect thematic proximity between the texts:

- Apocryphal Psalms-11Q11

¹Most authors that worked with demonology in Qumran had lists of texts that are important to the subject. See e.g. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; Philip S. Alexander, “Magic and Magical Texts,” *EDSS* 1:502-504; Eibert J C. Tigchelaar, “The Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *EDEJ*: 520-24; Bohak, “Mystical Texts, Magic, and Divination”; Menahem Kister, “Demons, Theology and Abraham’s Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 167–84; Erkki Koskenniemi and Ida Fröhlich, *Evil and the Devil* (Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2013); Michael Mach, “Demons,” *EDSS* 1: 189-192.

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- 4QExorcism ar- 4Q560
- Songs of the Maskil^a- 4Q510
- Songs of the Maskil^b-4Q511
- 8QHymn- 8Q5
- 6QpapHymn- 6Q18
- 4QIncantation- 4Q444.

The section below introduces 11Q11, focusing on the material evidence and on the classification of the text made by previous scholarship.

3.1 Apocryphal Psalms: 11Q11

11Q11 (11QApocryphal Psalms) is a leather manuscript recovered from Cave 11 at Qumran. It was published in 1998 in DJD 23.

3.1.1 Physical Description

11Q11 was purchased rolled, with extensive damage at the top and bottom of the scroll.

When opened it extends to 73 cm² in length and it has a zigzag shape. The preserved text is written on one piece of skin, thick and with large grain, with another sheet attached to it, probably from the same skin (same grain, colour and apparently thickness).³ No traces of ruling are visible in the larger fragment, but the columns and lines are regular. Fragments 1 and 2 present faint traces of ruling. The skin is tan to light brown.

²The first reports of the length of the scroll reported 73 cm, later measurements stated 71 cm. The difference in size can be attributed to the slight distortion of the scroll in the plates García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 182.

³ Ibid.: 181

The columns were renumbered in DJD 23, based on the observation that “the largest fragment stems from the revolution exterior to the first column of the opened scroll”.⁴ I will follow DJD numbering for columns, lines and fragments. Because of the extent of the damage at the top and bottom of the scroll, it is not possible to determine the original measurements of 11Q11.⁵ The column width varies between 8.5 cm (Column 2, extant) and 16.2 cm (until stitching, column 6), the extent of margins varies between 0.7 cm and 2.7 cm. 11Q11 is written in late Herodian formal script (c. 50-70 CE).⁶ The scroll uses full spelling with the vowel letters *waw* and *yod* for long *o*, *u* and *i*.⁷ This scroll is one of the latest manuscripts from Qumran.⁸ The date of composition for this text cannot be determined. Most scholars, influenced by Puech’s analysis,⁹ agree that the content of the text is exorcistic to some extent. This view was challenged by Shepherd, who argues that 11Q11 should be understood as an oracle of salvation, reminding the righteous the protection they enjoy by following god.¹⁰

3.1.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

It is not possible to determine the number of psalms in this scroll with certainty. The question over the possible number of psalms in 11Q11 leads also to a debate over the significance of the number of psalms, with Shepherd questioning the utility of dividing

⁴ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 181.

⁵ The reconstruction of Psalm 91 suggests the original number of columns to be around 15, but this number is speculative.

⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 184.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ B. Webster, “Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judean Desert,” in DJD 39: 421.

⁹ Émile Puech, “11QPsAp - un rituel d’exorcismes: Essai de reconstruction,” *RevQ* 14.3 (55) (1990): 377–408; Puech, DJD 37.

¹⁰ Jennifer Shepherd, “11Qapocryphal Psalms (11Q11): Structure, Genre and Function” (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2005), 10; 182-183.

11Q11 for study instead of an approach focused on the text as a whole.¹¹ The two main forms of division have been proposed by Puech and Pajunen and can be summarized in the following table:

Puech	Pajunen
	Psalm 01 (Fragments 1 and 2, column I)
Psalm 01 (Columns 01-I)	Psalm 02 (Columns II 1- III 13)
Psalm 02 (Columns II 1- V 3)	Psalm 03 (Columns IV 1-V 3)
Psalm 03 (Columns V 4-VI 3a)	Psalm 04 (Columns V 4- VI 3a)
Psalm 04 (91) (Columns VI 3b-14)	Psalm 05 (91) (Columns VI 3b-14)

Psalm 91, the last of the psalms in the scroll, begins in column VI 3. The previous song begins with לְדוֹיֵד in column V 4. The lack of other formal criteria and the damage pattern make it unlikely that we will ever determine the amount and extent of the preceding text.

Pajunen draws attention to the size that each psalm would have according to the division proposed by Puech.¹² As described earlier the pieces we have are one big sheet with four columns (2-6) and three small fragments (columns 1 plus fragment 1 and 2), which are not included in Puech's division. There are some other small fragments, but none of them preserve any complete words. The three small fragments are from at least two different columns. Fragments 1 and 2 have some ruling still visible, which Pajunen suggests is a result of these two fragments having belonged to a different sheet. If this hypothesis is correct and

¹¹ Ibid., 61–62.

¹² Mika S. Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon: Form- and Traditional-Critical Assessment of the Ritual of Exorcism in 11QApocryphal Psalms," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Mika S. Pajunen and Hanna Tervanotko, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Soc, 2015), 128–61, 133.

considering that sheets with only two columns are quite rare, Pajunen assumes that it is probable that more material from previous sheets was lost. I am not entirely convinced about how much weight we can be put on the preserved ruling to conclude that the manuscript should be much longer; however, Pajunen's suggestion remains a possibility. On the other hand there is a possibility that 11Q11 contains *the* four song to be sung over the stricken, mentioned in 11QPs^a 27:9-10. On this identification, the songs are attributed to David. Van der Ploeg¹³ first proposed this hypothesis but included a note to the to Solomon in the text. Emile Puech,¹⁴ Ida Fröhlich,¹⁵ etc. follow it. However, the evidence from the remains of the text is not conclusive on the matter whether 11Q11 is a copy of "the four songs to be sung over the stricken".¹⁶ In a recent article Pajunen, as showed in the previous paragraphs, argued that the hypothesis that 11Q11 was the specific group of four songs is very unlikely, not only because of the number of psalms that could fit into the scroll, but also from the perspective of authorship.¹⁷ There is not enough evidence to conclusively support any of the theories about the number of psalms in 11Q11 or to determine its authorship.¹⁸ There are just a few complete critical studies focusing primarily on 11Q11, and only Shepherd's dissertation and the recent article by Pajunen deal with this manuscript and demonic influences in a comprehensive way.

¹³ Johannes Petrus Maria van der Ploeg, "Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran," *RB* 72 (1965): 210–17.

¹⁴ Puech, "11QPsAp - Un rituel d'exorcismes."

¹⁵ Ida Fröhlich, "Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar," in *Studies on Magic and Divination in the Biblical World*, ed. Helen R. Jacobus and Anne Katrine de Hemmer Gudme (Piscataway: Gorgias Press LLC, 2013), 39–49; Ida Fröhlich, "Healing with Psalms," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. Jeremy Penner, Ken Penner, and Cecilia Wassen, STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 197–206.

¹⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 183.

¹⁷ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 132.

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3.2 4QExorcism ar: 4Q560

4Q560 (4QExorcism ar) is a leather manuscript recovered from Qumran Cave 4. It was officially published in 2009 by Puech in DJD 37.

3.2.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

4Q560 is a group of three fragments. The remains of two columns form fragment 1 and it is 5.09 cm high and 12.09 wide. This fragment is composed of three pieces joined by the first editorial team.¹⁹ Puech describes lighter traces indicating dry point ruling, though I was not able to confirm this based on the images available. Fragment 2 is 0.9 cm high and 3.9 cm wide. Frag 3 is formed of two small pieces, each less than 0.3 cm high. Only one of the pieces preserves a small trace of ink.

Fragment 1 is light brown, with darker areas. Fragment 2 is darker. The ink used is black and showing little degradation over time. There is some damage in the form of straight lines on fragment 1, which could correspond to folding marks. The writing is regular and legible.

The intercolumnar space is 1,5 cm, and the interlinear space varies between 0,7 and 0,8 cm.

Considering that fragment 1 preserves the remains of seven lines, Puech suggests that the manuscript originally comprised at least eight lines per column. The width of the columns is unknown, but Puech estimates it to be between 11 and 12 cm.

The script is semi-formal Hasmonean, which according to Puech dates the copy to ca. 75 BCE.²⁰

¹⁹ Puech, DJD 37: 293.

²⁰ Ibid., 294.

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3.2.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

Puech believes that the fragments we have are from the beginning of a scroll, the end of which is lost.²¹ He also believes that the two preserved columns are from the same incantation.²²

This very fragmentary manuscript contains a list of male and female evil beings, a list of diseases caused by possession and adjurations of the being(s) addressed. Some scholars consider this text to be part of a magic book.²³

The fragments were first grouped under the *siglum* of 4QSy 36 and labelled proverbs. Later the text was named 4Q560 Proverbs?, but today it is known as 4QExorcism ar or 4QLivret magique ar.²⁴ 4Q560 is composed of three fragments. It is the most distinctive magical text that survived from Qumran. It is the only one in Aramaic and it uses terminology similar to later incantation texts.

According to Puech the words used in the text, do not leave any doubt about the magical use of 4Q560.

3.3 4QSongs of the Maskil^a: 4Q510

4Q510 (4QSongs of the Maskil^a) is a leather manuscript recovered from Cave 4 at Qumran. It was officially published by Baillet in 1982 in DJD 7.

²¹ Ibid., 291.

²² Ibid.

²³ Douglas L. Penney and Michael O. Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran (4Q560)," *JBL* 113.4 (1994): 627-650.

²⁴ Puech, DJD 37: 291.

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3.3.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

4Q510 is composed of 13 fragments: 1 large with the remains of 1 column of 9 lines, one with part of a column and five lines, and 11 very small fragments where no more than one word can be read. The numbering of the fragments goes back to Baillet, and I will follow his numeration. According to Baillet:

Peau d'épaisseur moyenne. Le dos, velouté et plissé, conserve partout la teinte d'origine café au lait clair. Sauf dans les ff. 2, 3 et 9-11, la face inscrite a plus ou moins bruni.²⁵

Due to the condition of the remains it is not possible to be sure about the manuscript's original size. Fragment 1 has a 2.2 cm margin at the beginning. According to Tov, 51 or 5.5% of all the preserved scrolls had their beginning preserved.²⁶ From this total the majority of the beginnings have a margin of 2.5 cm or more (14 from the 18 un-ruled Scrolls and 6 from the 9 ruled Scrolls with preserved beginning). The preserved margin of 4Q510 is 2.2 cm. From that measurement and marks left it is not possible to affirm whether it is the beginning of a sheet, the beginning of a complete scroll or an intercolumnar margin.²⁷ There are no sewing marks visible. It is also not possible to say whether 4Q510 was rolled up with the beginning of the scroll on the inside.

²⁵ Baillet, DJD 7: 215.

²⁶ The extremely small number of preserved beginnings of scrolls makes it difficult to affirm anything with certainty on the subject Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 102–3.

²⁷ According to Tov the size of the margin that separates two columns in the Scrolls is usually of 1-1.5 cm. However, it is important to notice that there are scrolls with a very small margins (4Q529 has intercolumnar margins varying between 0.2-0.5 cm) and scrolls with bigger margins (4Q418 and 4Q317 have intercolumnar margins varying between 2 and 2.2 cm). Ibid., 97–98.

Baillet²⁸ suggests that the content of fragment 1 is probably the start of a song, and most scholars follow him.²⁹ However, I believe that the material evidence that survived does not permit that conclusion. I will discuss the possibilities in chapter 5.10. The top margin of the column is preserved, and it is likely that the space after line 9 is a bottom margin, but is not possible to affirm that for sure.

Remains of lines and margins made by a dry point are visible. The ink is black and well preserved in all the fragments. The calligraphy is tidy and regular, and the surviving fragments probably go back to one scribe. The script is classified by Baillet as Herodian, contemporary to 1QM and 1QapGen, therefore dating no later than the first quarter of the 1st c CE.³⁰

3.3.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

4Q510 is one of the many groups of fragments from the Cave 4. The content of 4Q510 points to an apotropaic use. This conclusion is often made based on 4Q510 and 4Q511. The same is correct for many of the assumptions made about these texts. However, some of these conclusions do not apply to both of the texts. I will treat them separately for this thesis.

The order of the fragments is based on Baillet's assessment that the bigger fragment is likely the beginning of a song, so it was numbered 1. The rest of the fragments are numbered by size, with 2 being the second biggest, etc. The numbers of the fragments do not necessarily reflect the original order of the text.

²⁸ Baillet, DJD 7: 215.

²⁹ Ida Fröhlich, "'Invoke at Any Time...': Apotropaic Texts and Belief in Demons in the Literature of the Qumran Community," *BN* 137 (2008): 41–74; Archie T. Wright, "Prayer and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Studies in Jewish Prayer*, ed. C. T. Robert Hayward and Brad Embry, *JSSSup* 17 (Oxford: OUP, 2005), 75–88.

³⁰ Baillet, DJD 7: 215.

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3.4 4QSongs of the Maskil^b: 4Q511

4Q511 (4QSongs of the Maskil^b) is one of the many leather manuscripts recovered from Cave 4 in Qumran. It was officially published by Baillet in 1982 in DJD 7.

3.4.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

At the time of discovery, 4Q511 was composed of around 400 fragments³¹. J. Starcky grouped some of them together. By the time Baillet worked with them there were around 224 composite fragments.³²

According to the description on DJD 7, the skin is of medium thickness, with the written surface being more or less regular, with pores visible in some of the fragments, sometimes striated. The best-preserved fragments have a velvety back. These observations can be confirmed by the high quality images from the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library.³³ The original colour of the manuscript is likely to have been chamois, but in the majority of fragments, it is overshadowed. Some parts have turned grey (e.g. frags 6, 12, 116, 141) or are completely black (frags 44-64), with the text completely invisible to the naked eye (frags 44 and 45). The fragments are in an advanced state of decomposition, so are hard and brittle, or sometimes wrinkled (like frags 35-37).³⁴

Lines traced by dry point are still visible in most of the fragments (e.g. frags 1, 22, 35, 41, 43 63). On the left margin of the fragment 1 it is possible to see points that guided the tracing of the lines. The ink used is black, with degrees of pale shades in some cases.³⁵ The letters

³¹ Ibid., 219.

³² Ibid.; Joseph L. Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511)," *RevQ* 27 (2015): 25–82, 26.

³³ "The Dead Sea Scrolls - 4Q Shir," <http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/manuscript/4Q511-1>.

³⁴ Baillet, DJD 7: 219.

³⁵ Ibid.

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are sometimes corroded with only external traces surviving (e.g. frags 2i, 8, 10, 18, 30, 73).

The handwriting can be dated as Herodian, likely from the turn of the century³⁶.

3.4.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

Below I am following the order established by the material reconstruction proposed by Angel³⁷. Baillet recognized that his order was rather arbitrary, but also argued that fragment 10 should be positioned at the beginning of the scroll and that fragment 8 should follow it.

He also recommended fragments 63-4 be placed at the end of the text.³⁸

The remains of 4Q511 likely attest an original manuscript of at least 16 columns long, measuring more than 2 meters. The impossibility of identifying the beginning of the composition makes it difficult to ascertain the original size of the manuscript. It was composed of at least five sheets, with an average length from about 39.3 to 57.5 cm. The columns comprised at least 25 lines with a height of about 17.5 cm.³⁹

The following table summarizes the reconstruction proposed by the Angel.⁴⁰ The fragments accompanied by a question mark are the fragments that Angel could not place with certainty. Many of the fragments could not be allocated a place in the sequence and are not included in the table.

Sheet number	Column number	Fragments of 4Q511 and their positions within	Observed column	Suggested column width (cm)	Suggested sheet length (cm)

³⁶ Ibid.; Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judean Desert," in DJD 39: 421.

³⁷ Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511)."

³⁸ Baillet, DJD 7: 219.

³⁹ Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511)," 28.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 81.

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		columns (top/ middle/bottom)	width (cm)		
1	1	/ /2i	13.7		ca. 42.5
	2	/43? /2ii		13.5	
	3	/ /1	9		
2	4	/ /37?, 18i		13.2	ca. 40
	5	35/ 63 i? / 18ii	11.2		
	6	/ 111?/ 18iii, 41?		8.5-9.5	
3	7	/ / 28,29		14.5	ca. 58
	8	/ / 30		16	
	9	44-47/ /	9.7		
	10	48+49+51+53/ /	9.7		
4	11	57+52+54+58+59, 55, 22?/ /10	13		ca. 39.3
	12	60/ /		10-12	
	13	/ /		9-11	
5	14	63-64 ii/ /	16.9		ca. 43.8
	15	63 iii / /	13.6		
	16	63 iv	4.5		

For the numbering of the fragments during the thesis I use Baillet order as standard and included Angels numbering in Brackets.

Similarly, to 4Q510,⁴¹ 4Q511 is likely a collection of songs.⁴² The fragmentary state of the text does not allow for any affirmation of how many, but is certain that were more than two. This can be stated based on the probable size of the scroll,⁴³ but also from the phrase in frag. 8:4 “a second song to frighten those who terrify him”.

The relationship with 4Q510 is not clear. For Baillet 4Q511 is a later and longer copy of the same text.⁴⁴ This view is also followed by, e.g., Fröhlich⁴⁵ and partially followed by Eshel, who agrees that the two mss. seem to be versions of the same text.⁴⁶ Nitzan highlights that although the content of both manuscripts is “extremely similar”; neither repeats the words of the other. She suggests three possibilities: the texts can be two copies of the same scroll, two parallel works or two versions of the same work. However her analyses of the texts follow the more traditional approach of grouping both texts together and combining the conclusions.⁴⁷ Recently, Angel has also challenged the predominant view that 4Q510 and 4Q511 are two copies of the same manuscript. He suggests that although both texts are related, they are more likely different texts that depend on one another or different texts that depend on a common source.⁴⁸

⁴¹ Refer to section 3.3 on 4Q510 for more details.

⁴² Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511).”

⁴³ According to Angel’s reconstruction the scrolls measured at least 2 meters in length and comprised 16 columns *ibid.*, 26.

⁴⁴ Baillet, DJD 7: 215.

⁴⁵ Fröhlich, “Invoke at Any Time...”

⁴⁶ Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 395.

⁴⁷ Bilha Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 236.

⁴⁸ Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511).”

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Baillet states that 4Q511 is a collection of songs. He also points out that the connections with the Hodayot are so strong in some cases that it is possible to propose a common source for both.⁴⁹

3.5 8QHymn (8Q5)

8Q5 is a leather manuscript recovered from Cave 8. It was published by Baillet in 1962 in a volume dedicated to the discoveries in the smaller caves, namely 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, 8Q, 9Q and 10Q.⁵⁰

3.5.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

Only two small fragments remain of this text. Fragment 1 is 3.96 cm high and 5.67 cm wide. It is mostly light brown, with some whitened areas. Fragment 2 is 4.74 cm high with a width of 4.5 cm. It is darker than fragment 1, with the same type of whitened and scraped areas. The ink used is black.

According to the description in DJD 3, the skin is of medium thickness and the back of the fragments is grey. Baillet also points out that the back is encrusted with earth. It is not possible to verify from the available photos if it is still the case today.

The writing is very regular. It is classified by Baillet as Herodian, which places the date of the copy of the manuscript between 30 BCE and 68 CE.⁵¹

3.5.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

8Q5 is usually classified as a hymnic composition.⁵² The numbering of fragments 1 and 2 is followed in most publications. The numeration used in the Leon Levy archive is yet different,

⁴⁹ Baillet, DJD 7: 220.

⁵⁰ Baillet, DJD 3.

⁵¹ Ibid., 161.

⁵² Ibid.

see B-371457, B-367141, B-367143. I will follow the numbers from DJD 3, but would like to reinforce that the order is arbitrary, since the fragments are too small to allow us to reconstruct the order.

3.6 4QIncantation 4Q444

4Q444 is a leather manuscript recovered from Cave 4. Esther Chazon published 4QIncantation in 1999. The same editor had preliminarily published the manuscript in 1994, but the DJD edition of 1999 is more complete. Chazon highlights its close connection to the Songs of the Maskil (4Q510 and 4Q511).

3.6.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

At first glance the six fragments assigned to 4Q444 do not give the impression that they are part of the same group. Fragments 1, 2 and 3 have a very similar appearance, much darkened skin, with severe shrinkage and black ink barely apparent. Fragments 4, 5 and 6 are also similar to each other, a lighter skin with darkened borders. Chazon⁵³ points out that Strugnell in his original notes had put them together. The suspicion that they do not belong together is due to the different colours and the shrinkage that gives the misleading impression that the letters are written by different hands. Ada Yardeni⁵⁴ believes that the same scribe who produced all the fragments.

Remains of sewing threads and stitching holes have been preserved at the bottom of frag 3 and the top of frag 4. The shape of both fragments match well, and the letters from frag 3 are the same height as the traces of letters from frag 4. More than that, the colour and

⁵³ Chazon, DJD 29: 367.

⁵⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 367.

texture of the skin is very similar at the point of the proposed joint. There are also sewing threads at the bottom of frag 4 and top of frag 5, which suggest a physical joint.⁵⁵

The way the fragments of leather are stitched together is unique to 4Q444,⁵⁶ a manuscript with the smallest writing block of all the Qumran Scrolls, only four lines.⁵⁷ Chazon notes that the stitching is not a repair, but was intentional from the time the parchment was prepared. She also points to the unusual format, which may be related to its magical use. Chazon also notes that this hypothesis was discussed in private communication with S. Shaked, but the latter believes this not to be the case.⁵⁸

Each fragment of leather has four lines.⁵⁹ Tov suggests that each group of lines is to be considered one column, based on the unusual stitching of the fragment. Chazon believes that a 12-line column is more likely, based on the positioning of the frag 6 below frag 5, and thus completing column I.⁶⁰

3.6.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

4Q444 is usually classified as an incantation or under the label of magic, with hymnic characteristics.⁶¹ The order of the fragments proposed by Chazon is presented as the possible original arrangement. Frags 1-3 represent column I 1-4, frag 4i +5 +6 are likely col I 5-11. Frag 4ii would then be col. II 6-8.⁶² I will primarily follow Chazon's arrangement, but I will also be cautious with the positioning of frag 6.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 367.

⁵⁶ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 35.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 79.

⁵⁸ Chazon, DJD 29: 368.

⁵⁹ Emanuel Tov, "The Dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 5.1 (1998): 69-91, 77.

⁶⁰ Chazon, DJD 29: 368.

⁶¹ Ibid., 368-71; Lange and Mittmann-Richert, DJD 39: 143.

⁶² Chazon, DJD 29: 368.

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3.7 6QpapHymn (6Q18)

6Q18 (4QpapHymn) is a papyrus manuscript recovered from Qumran Cave 6. Baillet published it in 1962 in DJD 3.

3.7.1 Physical Description of the Manuscript

The 27 papyrus fragments are grouped together as 6Q18. According to Baillet,⁶³ the papyrus is regular in preparation, with medium thickness for fragments 1-19 and somewhat thinner for frags 20-27. The ink is black. No colour pictures of this manuscript are available.

The writing is regular, and it is classified by Baillet as Herodian, which places the date of the copy of the manuscript between 30 BCE and 68 CE.⁶⁴ The divine name is written in paleo Hebrew script.

3.7.2 Classification and Order of the Fragments

The editor Baillet classifies 6Q18 as a hymnic text, but does not elaborate much more on it.

The number of the fragments follows the size of the fragments, with number 1 being the biggest, etc. The numbering is arbitrary due to the fragmentary state of the papyrus and does not necessarily reflect the original order of the text.

3.8 Conclusion

To sum up, from the material perspective the magical texts related to evil beings are a diverse group, as is clear from the table below:

Text	Date	Material	Language	Unusual characteristics

⁶³ Ibid., 133.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

4Q560	75-1 BCE	Skin	Aramaic	
4Q510	25-1 BCE	Skin	Hebrew	
4Q511	1 BCE	Skin	Hebrew	
8Q5	30 BCE-68 CE	Skin	Hebrew	
4Q444	30 BCE-68 CE	Skin	Hebrew	Stitching on top of the sheets.
6Q18	30 BCE-68 CE	Papyrus	Hebrew	
11Q11	50-70 CE	Skin	Hebrew	

The date of the copies varies between 75 BCE and 68 CE. Although the date of a manuscript does not necessarily reflect the moment it was produced, the dates of copies of the magical texts related to evil beings reflect a change in perspective of how to deal with evil beings. Written evidence demonstrates that in this period, counteracting evil forces was in evidence and writing was a part of how to protect yourself. Through chapters 4, 5 and 6 other ways of protection and “weapons” to neutralise the influence of evil beings will be explored.

It is striking that the oldest copy is of 4Q560, since this is the text that resembles later Aramaic magical formulas. 4Q560 is also the only example from this group that is in Aramaic. From the perspective of the material used to produce the copies, the majority is in leather and written in black ink, with the exception of 6Q18, which is written on papyrus. There is no apparent peculiarity in the skins used in the copies or in the papyrus. The remaining evidence of stitching is on the sides of all the examples except for 4Q444, which has stitching on the sides and tops of the sheets. Despite the majority of the texts being written on leather, this was not the only material used for magical texts.

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All the examples have a tidy calligraphy which testifies to experienced scribes. As regards to the grammar, 4Q560 is the only example with many misspellings and structures that are unclear to translate. One possibility for this is that the “mistakes” are intentional, a way to confuse evil beings and add more power to the magical text.

Having discussed the material evidence of the magical texts related to evil beings, the next chapters will focus on the texts themselves. Chapter 4 will present the various active agents of the texts related to evil beings.

4 Active Agents

An active being is the one perpetrating the action. In many instances, this is related to performances or to some kind of ritualistic action, elsewhere it is referring to forms of attack or of harm. An active agent can also be perceived through the declarations made in the first person in the texts. Such passages give us a sense of the agent performing/speaking the text. This agent cannot be understood necessarily as a “photo” of a real person, but it is certainly a representation of an agent, likely idealised. The fragmentary state of the manuscripts analysed in this thesis makes it difficult to distinguish clearly references to otherworldly agents and humans. From what remains it is clear that the distinction between the realms of humans and otherworldly agents is not always clear cut.¹ This does not imply that the difference did not exist for people in antiquity, but that the line that separates the two realms is difficult to establish from the remains of the texts we have. For instance, the “lot of Belial” (1QS 2:5; 4QS (4Q257) II (Frgs. 1a ii, 1b, 1c); War Scroll (1Q33) 1:5; 4Q496 3:5) is not clearly described as being formed only of otherworldly agents; it is also composed of humans. Humans and otherworldly beings could be part of the same scheme and considered dangerous in a similar way. Being human or not is a characteristic that does not influence the level of harm the members of Belial’s lot can cause.

If we allow for a certain fluidity between human and otherworldly beings, it is possible to see other examples where the distinction between them is not clear, either because being

¹ Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism.”

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human or otherworldly is not a prominent characteristic or because it was so clear that it did not need to be highlighted in the text.

Not only is the distinction between human and otherworldly difficult to draw, but also the distinction between benevolent and malevolent. This is because the magical texts related to evil beings are in a fragmentary state, not to mention our ignorance of terms/expressions that could be used to refer to either benevolent or malevolent beings.

Chapter 4 describes the active agents divided into sections based on the terms and/or characteristics that describe each. The first section looks at benevolent agents and is subdivided considering the characteristics of sub-groups.

4.1 Benevolent Agents

The most common term used to designate angels in Jewish literature is מלאך. During the Second Temple period, messengers became more connected to other heavenly beings and the term מלאך came to be used also to designate heavenly beings that may have interacted with humans. In the same period, a wider range of Hebrew terms were being used to refer to angels.² Combinations of words like “sons of God” (Gen. 6:1-4) and “holy ones” are also sometimes used to represent angels.³ This plurality of terms to designate what we refer to as angels brings with it ambiguity, and some of the references can refer to heavenly beings and humans at the same time, as pointed out by Mach.⁴

Angels and other benevolent active agents are part of the fight against evil beings represented in the magical texts related to evil beings and in other sources. Many times,

² Michael Mach, “Angels,” *EDSS* 1: 24.

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*

they are viewed as the beings sent by God to help humans, but on other occasions their role is to punish those who do not follow the laws of God. The picture presented in the Scrolls is no different. In the following sections, I will discuss the beings who are clearly identified as angels or as benevolent agents.

4.1.1 Alternative designations for angels

In some instances, angels are less clearly referred to. We do, however, find a variety of terms that refer to active and powerful benevolent beings. Such a shift testifies to the development outlined above of a much larger range of sometimes ambiguous vocabulary to refer to angels during the Second Temple period. In what follows, I will discuss passages where it is not completely clear whether the reference is to an angel,⁵ or whether it reflects a benevolent otherworldly being, or even a group.

A term that was used in Second Temple texts to represent angels is the “holy ones”. The term has long been debated⁶ and there is no consensus on whether it is a reference to a group of people, a group of angels or a mixture of both. According to John J. Collins,⁷ “holy ones” was a term restricted to heavenly beings prior to the second century BCE, but the line between human and heavenly was already blurred by then.⁸ Di Lella points out that in Ps

⁵ For more information on the רוח בינה (“spirit of understanding”), mentioned in 4Q510 1 6 please refer to section 4.5.1. “Spirit of understanding” is identified as a class of angel with no other parallels by Baillet, DJD 3: 217; John Strugnell, “The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran- 4Q Serek Širôt ‘Ôlat Haššabbāt,” in *Congress Volume, Oxford 1959*. ed. G. W. Anderson. VTSup 7. Leiden: Brill, 1960,” 318-45, 332.

⁶ Alexander A. Di Lella, “The One in Human Likeness and the Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel 7,” *CBQ* 39.1 (1977):1-19, 5–11; Larry W. Hurtado, “Monotheism, Principal Angels, and the Background of Christology” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 546-64. Kelley Coblentz Bautch, “Hosts, Holy Ones, and the Words of Gabriel: The Angelology of *Hazon Gabriel* in the Context of Second Temple and Late Antique Literature,” in *Hazon Gabriel: New Readings of the Gabriel Revelation*. ed. Matthias Henze. E.J.L. Atlanta: SBL, 2011, 131-52.

⁷ John J. Collins, *Daniel: A Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 313–17.

⁸ Bautch, “Hosts, Holy Ones, and the Words of Gabriel,” 140; Di Lella, “The One in Human Likeness and the Holy Ones of the Most High in Daniel 7,” 7.

34:10 קדושים is certainly referring to humans. From those perspectives it is clear that the use of “holy ones” by itself does not allow us to determine whether the reference is to angels or humans. As a consequence each occurrence has to be considered based on the context that it is preserved in. In 4Q510 1 2-3 we have the following:

- 2 [] [] to the God of knowledge, splendour of
[treng]th, the God of Gods, Lord of all the
אדון לכול קדושים וממשׁ[לתו]
holy ones. [His] ru[le]
- 3 על כול גבורי כוח ומכוח גבור׃[ת] ו יבהלו ויתפזרוֹ is over all the mighty of strength, and by
the streng[th] of His might all will be
כול וחפזו מהדר׃ מע׃
dismayed and scattered, and they will run
hurriedly from the glory of m[

In this example, God is described in relation to the קדושים (holy ones); he is the Lord of all of them. The term קדושים (holy ones) is translated as ἁγγελοι (angels) in the ancient Greek translations of the Old Testament.⁹ A group with the same name is mentioned in the War Scroll (1QM 1:16; 10:12 and 12:1-7), where they are clearly heavenly beings fighting with humans, who are not part of the “holy ones”. In the Hodayot^a (1QH^a 19:12 [9:9]) the term is used again of a group with whom humans will be joined. Considering the fluidity of the category, the reference in 4Q510 could be to a group of beings that include good otherworldly beings and benevolent humans.

⁹ Mach, "Angels", EDSS 1: 25.

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In 4Q510 1 2-3 it is clear that “the mighty of strength” are close to the “holy ones” and close to God. In the passage God’s “might” is the key to “scatter and dismay” a group. The “mighty of strength” appear to be a different, but connected group to the “holy ones”. In 1QH 10:33-34 both groups are also connected, and the “mighty of strength” are the ones who will execute God’s judgments, while the role of the “holy ones” is not completely clear. If the term “mighty of strength” in 4Q510 is being used in a similar way to 1QH, then it would be a group associated with military action. However, from the passage it is safe to assume that they are part of God’s entourage and that their role in 4Q510 is not completely clear. There are similar references in 4Q511, but unfortunately more fragmentary in context. Two very specific groups are quoted in 4Q511 2i 6 (Angel 1 6):

וְדָשׁוּ לְקִדּוּשֵׁי עַמּוֹ [שׁוֹמְ] רִי דֶרֶךְ אֱלֹהִים וּמַסְלֵ [ת ק] [those who ke]ep the way of God, and the
highw[ay of His h]oliness for the holy ones of
[בִּדְעָת] [ת]
His people through the discerning

“[Those who ke]ep the way of God” are a good group. Along with them are the “holy ones of His people”, which might even be a group more special than the first one. It is more likely that in this case “holy ones” is a reference to a group of humans.

In 4Q511 8 8 the word בְּקִדּוּשֵׁי (“among his holy ones”) is all that is preserved. In 4Q511 8 9 the word holy recurs, this time “with holy”, but again the fragment is too damaged to say much.

In a negative phrase, 4Q511 43 5 reads תַּעֲב קִדּוּשׁ א (he abhorred holy). Abbeg, Cook and Wise translate: “he abhorred [the] holy [one]”. In my view, Baillet’s translation is more

persuasive when he renders the line as “Il a en abomination, saint”.¹⁰ He likely interprets the verb as a piel, with the first part of the phrase connected to something that was mentioned previously and that was “regard as an abomination”. The קדוש (holy) would then be related to the next phrase. On both readings, it is clear that we are dealing with an antagonistic figure who can either abhor a holy one/something holy or be abhorrent. The reference to holiness may also belong to what follows.

To sum up “holy ones” is a common way to refer to a group of benevolent beings, which is clearly more connected to humans in 4Q511 2i 6 (Angel 1 6), but is also attested in a more ambiguous reference in 4Q510 1 2. It emerges that terms derived from the root קדוש were used to describe more than one specific group and that their use indicates a relation to God rather than to a particular group. In that sense, the reference to holy ones could be applied to humans, angels and to a mixture of both. They are connected to the mighty of strength, which are possibly a group connected to military action.

4.1.2 Righteous agents

Another group of good beings is referred to in the Apocryphal Psalms, 11Q11 5:11-12:

11 [ה] צִדִּיק לְהַ [ו] אָמַרְתָּ הָ [the] righteous one [] you will say: h[

]

12 [the r]ighteous one, to come[] evil to
him š/š[]

¹⁰ Baillet, DJD 3: 241.

In this case, it is clear that the reference is to humans and not to otherworldly beings. The passage distinguishes two types of beings, the righteous man and an opposing evil that may be human or not. In line 11, after the broken part of the text, it is possible to read, “you will say”, which may refer to the righteous one who is instructed to speak, probably during an exorcism. Following that in line 12 we have “righteous man, to come”, and after the gap, “evil to him”, “evil one” or “mistreats him”. Based on the preserved fragments it is not possible to determine whether the “righteous one” is being possessed or under the threat of an evil being, but the latter is likely.

A group of angels are referred to as angels of righteousness. Being righteous is an important characteristic of those who follow God, and in the fragmentary hymn 6Q18 5 2 designates a specific group of angels, as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2 | [מל]אֲבֵי צֶדֶק בַּמַּעַן] angels of righteousness in [|
| 3 | [יִחְזְקוּ בְרוּחַ דַּעַת] they [shall] hold firmly to the spirit of
knowledge[|
| 4 | עוֹלָמִים לֹא יִכְלֹו eter]nity, they shall not come to an end |

Line 2 introduces מַלְאֲכֵי צֶדֶק (“[an]gels of righteousness”). The beginning of מַלְאֲכֵי is reconstructed by Baillet. Baillet¹¹ notes that the text refers to a category of angels not attested in the Bible or apocrypha, but familiar from 1QM 13:10. Unfortunately, the latter passage is also reconstructed.¹² The rest of the fragment does not offer much more clues on

¹¹ Baillet, DJD 3: 134.

¹² Reconstruction by Milik, see Baillet, DJD 3:; Cf by 134.

the role of these angels since the subject of the third person plural verb that follows cannot be determined.

The word *ṣdq* is usually connected to the idea of what is correct and right in an ethical sense, not necessarily in terms of law.¹³ In light of this, the role of the “angels of righteousness” in the text is more likely connected to supporting righteous humans, maybe as an apotropaic aid, rather than suggesting a more aggressive role as combatants against evil beings.

A further reference to righteous ones (in the plural) occurs in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 10, but unfortunately the line is damaged and reads]צ[דיקים אֱלֹהִים ([ri]ghteous ones). Considering the rest of the column, it is possible that the reference is to a group who are being protected by the text itself or it could be a broader reference.

In 6Q18 5 2 *ṣdq* is clearly referring to angels, and two other passages in 11Q11 and 4Q444 could be employing the term in the same way. Considering only the preceding spaces in 6Q18 5 2, there is enough space for another word like *melek* before *ṣdq*, but there are many other words that could fit in the same space. 11Q11 5:12 refers to a righteous man, while 4Q444 is more generic. Either way, being or acting with *ṣdqh* is evidently used both as a form of protection and as a form to distinguish groups.

4.1.3 Angels and humans

In many texts (such as the Songs of the Maskil 4Q510 and 4Q511) the lines between humans and otherworldly beings are blurred. In addition, a reference to an active benevolent powerful being could refer either to an angel or a human being. It is possible that this

¹³ Francesco Zanella, “צדק,” *ThWQ* 3: 383–93.

ambiguity was intentional, maybe to reflect the close relationship between humans and angels (e.g. 1QH^a 19:12; 1QSb 4:23).¹⁴

As in the passages with references to the “holy ones” above in section 4.1.1, there are many passages in the Scrolls that refer to God, angels and humans acting side by side, for instance in military contexts (e.g. 1QM 1:16; 10:12 and 12:1-7). See, e.g., 4Q511 2i 8-10 (Angel 1 8-10):

8	גורל אלוהים עם מלאכי] כי] מאורות כבודו	[] the lot of God is with the angels] of	the light of His glory. In His name praises]	בשמו ת[ש] ברוח	of
9	הם תבן למועדי שנה] ומ] משלת יחד]their [...] He established for/at the	appointed times of the year and [the	להתהלך] בגורל	do]minion of the Yahad to walk [in] the lot
10	לפי כבודו] ול] לשרתו בגורל עם קאז כיא	[] according to [His] glory[and] to serve	Him in the lot of the people of His throne	אלוהי	for he is the God of
	<i>bottom margin</i>	<i>bottom margin</i>			

Line 8 mentions a special group (possibly humans) who are referred to as “the lot of God” who are with angels. The line suggests that both are together praising the name of God.

Angel argues that the deliberately ambiguous language used in 4Q511 to talk about angels

¹⁴ Mach, "Angels", EDSS 1: 25.

and humans is a way to “obscure the ontological boundary between earthly and heavenly worshipers”.¹⁵ In 4Q511 2i 8 (Angel 1 8) this communion between angels and humans is made explicit, but the same type of communion is likely present in other passages in a less explicit way.

Together with the idea of communion between heavenly beings and humans expressed in line 8, line 10 has a quotation which most likely refers to the throne of God, with a specific group of beings associated with it, “the people of his throne”. The word used for throne is כִּסֵּא.¹⁶

The image of the throne is central in many theophanies (e.g. Isa 6, Ezek 1, Dan 7 and 1 Enoch 14), being only less important than the image of the divine being.¹⁷ The attendants of such scenes are often heavenly beings, sometimes with their appearances described in detail as in Isaiah 6 or Ezekiel 1, or are characterised for their position in relation to the throne and deity and by their numbers, as in 1 En. 14:22, Dan 7:10 and in the Book of Giants (4Q530 2 ii 17c-18a).¹⁸ Another interesting aspect is that a reference to God’s throne can be related to a location in heavens (1 En. 14:8-17), or on earth (4Q530 2 ii 16b-17b).¹⁹ The throne is also an important image related to divine majesty.²⁰ Throne-mysticism was also related to the idea

¹⁵ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511),” 17.

¹⁶ Nicole Tilford, “כִּסֵּא,” *ThWQ* 2: 415–17.

¹⁷ Amanda M. Davis Bledsoe, “Throne Theophanies, Dream Visions and Righteous (?) Seers,” in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, ed. Matthew J. Goff, Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, WUNT 360 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 81-96, 85.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 88–89.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 85–86.

²⁰ Abraham M. Habermann, “Shir Ha-Kavod,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Religion*, ed. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky and Geoffrey Wigoder (Jerusalem: PECPress Ltd, 1966), 637.

of divine glory (*kavod*). *Kavod* was understood as the visible manifestation of God, related to brightness and light²¹ and to royalty.²²

In line 10 above the reference is to someone who will serve God in the “lot of the people of His throne”. The use of “people” suggests this is a reference to the temple or Jerusalem. “Lot of the people of His throne” could also be used as a generalization to refer to the ones who are close to God. The combination of elements from this fragment points to a heavenly scene, where angels and humans are active together.

Another reference to a scene where angels and humans are together is described in 4Q511 35 2-3 (Angel 5 2-3):

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 2 | אפי אלוהים במזוקקי שבעתים ובקדושים | Anger of God among those refined seven times and among/with the holy ones God will consecrate |
| | | יקדו[ש] |
| 3 | אלוהים לו למקדש עולמים וטהרה בנברים והיו | for Himself to an everlasting sanctuary.

(Further) purity among the purified and they will be |
| 4 | כוהנים עם צדקו צבאו ומשרתים מלאכי כבודו | priests, His righteous people and His army and ministering angels of His glory |
| 5 | <i>vacat</i> יהללוהו בהפלא נוראות | They shall praise Him in His fearsome wonders <i>vacat</i> |

²¹ Lou H. Silberman, “Kavod,” ODJR: 421.

²² Thomas Wagner, “כבוד,” *ThWQ* 2: 326–30.

In 4Q511 35 2 (Angel 5 2) “the holy ones” are with God. Previously it was mentioned that another group, the *במזוקקי שבעתים* (among those refined seven times) will be the object of the “anger of God”. The complete line is translated as “la colère de Dieu contre les sept fois purifiés. Et parmi (les) saints, Dieu (en) consacre[ra]” by Baillet, and the passage suggests that some of the “holy ones” in a further level of selection will be consecrated. According to Baillet the “everlasting sanctuary” in 4Q511 35 3 (Angel 5 3) is similar to the everlasting sanctuary in 2 Chr 30:8.²³ I believe that the expression “everlasting sanctuary” suggests an eschatological scene, a moment when even the ones already pure and refined will be judged again and selected. This eschatological sanctuary resembles the eschatological sanctuary in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 2:7a, a sanctuary that is also identified with the community itself,²⁴ and to which admission is restricted.²⁵ In this case, the “holy ones” are more likely to be referring only to angelic beings with whom selected humans will join.

Following this, line 4 mentions different groups, “priests, His righteous people and His army and ministering angels of His glory”. Considering the column width of the original column to be 11.2cm²⁶ the space left for missing words after “glory” in this line is not big. In view of the lack of space for many words at the end of line 4 and the verb in the third masculine plural, *יהללוהו* (they shall praise Him) at the beginning of the next line, it is likely that the verb is

²³ Baillet, DJD 7: 238.

²⁴ For more on the subject of the community as a temple: George J. Brooke, “The Ten Temples in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day. Rev. ed. (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 417-34, 425–27.

²⁵ George J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4Q Florilegium in Its Jewish Context*, JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 218.

²⁶ Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511),” 81.

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referring not just to humans, but also the angels. They are the ones purified and refined, and all are expected to praise together.

Another passage where angels and humans are found together occurs in 4Q511 10 11 (Angel 11 11):

	those who exist until eternity. In a council of
ע] ד' נהיי עולמים בסוד אילים ואנשים ישפוט	
	angels and men he judges

Again, angels and humans are mentioned explicitly together, but unfortunately the context is lost.

A further reference to a possible union between angels and men is found in 4Q511 8 6-11:

6	אֵל בְּסִתְרֵי שְׂדֵי	[] in the secrecy of the divine name (Shaddai)
7	לְשִׁי יַחְבִּיאַנִי	he shall hide me
8	נִי בְּקִדּוּשֵׁי	with his holy ones
9	יח' ד' עם קדוּשׁ	with holy
10	מ' וְדִים [ל] אל vacat כִּי א	giving thanks to god. <i>Vacat</i> When
11	ב' בְּתֵי כְבוֹדָם יַחְבְּרוּ	in the houses of their glory they shall be united

Just after a *vacat*, line 11 has preserved ב' בְּתֵי כְבוֹדָם יַחְבְּרוּ “in the houses of their glory they shall be united”). The speaker from line 7 is not part of the “holy ones” in line 8. Assuming that the “holy ones” are a group made up at least partially of angelic beings, the union mentioned in line 11 can be the union of angels and humans. It is not clear what the “houses

of their glory” are, but it may refer to a heavenly scene. In this case, it is conceivable that the scene described has humans and angels together.

To sum up, as has been pointed out before, 4Q510 and 511 portray a strong connection between humans and angels.²⁷ Explicit references occur in at least 3 columns of 4Q511 (Angel 1, 5 and 11), which indicates that this was a widespread motif in more than one of the songs of 4Q511. While this connection does not fuse the two groups together, the evidence suggests it was not considered necessary to distinguish both groups carefully in all the references. In that way, some passages maybe be referring to both groups with a term that encompasses both. It is also plausible that these connections were considered possible on the part of evil angelic beings and humans too. Thus, we need to allow for references to evil beings to refer both to otherworldly and humans.

4.1.4 The upright

Among the groups of beings that are described favourably are “the upright”, ישרים. In the magical texts related to evil beings the upright are described in 4Q511 10 7-8 (Angel 11 7-8):

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 7 |] vacat? באלוהי פלא ולישרים תהלי |] vacat? for the God of wonder and for the upright (his glorious) prayers |
| 8 |] (י[רוממו(ה)ו כ(ו)ל תמימי דרך |] Let them exalt him, all those who are |
| | vacat בכנור [‡] perfect of way vacat with the lyre of | |

²⁷ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511).”

	vacat	למנו ידרשו אל ירחמי	they shall open their mouths to the god of
		[יפת]חו פה לרחמי	
9			compassion. They shall seek his manna
		הושיעה אלוהים	
	vacat		Save-me, oh God

The upright in line 7 are likely the group exalting God in line 8, the ones that are also described as “perfect of the way”. According to line 9 this group shall “open their mouths to the God of compassion”, probably a reference to the exaltation they are to offer. Line 9 follows affirming that the upright will also seek for God’s mana. Associating “the upright” with actions of devotion and joy is attested in Ps 32:11; 33:1 (praise God); Prov 15:8 (praying) and in Ps 64:11 [10]; 107:42 (rejoicing in God’s intervention).²⁸

“The upright” are again mentioned in 4Q511 60 1 (Angel 12 1). This fragment is small and does not offer much for interpretation. However, the following lines refer to “spirits” and “prison”, suggesting we might have here a reference to evil beings²⁹ and the upright are likely fighting them.

Considering that the word *yšr* does not only refer to the correctness of actions but is also used to convey the idea of success and prosperity, the passages in 4Q511 could indicate a group of people able to fight evil beings, or to resist their influence. To avoid evil beings, and consequently not to deviate from the correct path or/and do not fall ill, could be considered a sign of prosperity and success.

²⁸ Alonso-Schökel, "ישר" *TDOT* 6: 469.

²⁹ For more references on the evil beings in this passage, see chapter 4.5.8.

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4.1.5 The maskil

The maskil is a prominent figure in the Scrolls. The term appears 39 times in the non-biblical Scrolls, including CD 12:21, 13:22, 1QS 3:13, 9:12, 21.³⁰ According to Hempel, it is found in:

Damascus Document (x3), the Rule of the Community (x4), the Rule of Blessings (x3, 1QSb), the Hodayot (x4), Hodayot-like text (x1, 4Q433a), The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (x7), as a heading in an Address by the Maskil to the sons of Dawn (x1, 4Q298), Songs of the Maskil (x2, 4Q510 and 4Q511), 4QInstruction (x3) and once in 4QWays of Righteousness (4Q421) and 4QNarrative B (4Q461) respectively.³¹

The evidence on the maskil is complex and has given rise to a great deal of discussion in scholarship. This figure appears in a variety of roles in different texts and there is no unified way to translate or categorize the term maskil.³² Possible identifications of the role of the maskil include “spiritual maestro”³³ and “instructor”.³⁴ The figure of the maskil can also be connected to calendrical knowledge (see the final hymn of 1QS, often referred to as the Maskil’s Hymn, and 1QH^a 20:4-9)³⁵. I retain the term “maskil” and will not translate it since none of the translations proposed above captures all the meanings that the word can have.

³⁰ Martin Abegg, James Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 498.

³¹ Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 239.

³² There are many works on the role of the Maskil in Qumran texts. e.g. Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)”;³³ Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 162–70 and further literature cited there.

³³ Judith H. Newman, “Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture,” in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity, Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Jörg Frey and John Levison (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 241–64.

³⁴ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 237.

³⁵ Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 318.

However understood, the sapiential nature of the term is clear.³⁶ Another aspect that is important to keep in mind is the esoteric aspect associated with the maskil's role, an aspect that is more prominent when considered in light of the maskil's connection to calendrical knowledge and cryptic script.³⁷ Newman suggests that he can be interpreted as a Spiritual Maestro of the Yahad, the person responsible for teaching the community (e.g. 1QS 3:13; 9:18-20), and safeguarding knowledge from outsiders (e.g. 1QS 9:17).³⁸ The maskil also has liturgical obligations,³⁹ which can be observed in the example of 4Q510 1 4 which refers to his role performing the song.

In relation to evil beings, the maskil can be considered a specialist, a leading agent in the fight against evil forces. The maskil possesses elevated knowledge and is instructed to impart that knowledge to the community (e.g. 1QS 3:13), which is a way to offer protection.⁴⁰

Protection is also achieved separately with divine glory and light.

According to Angel,⁴¹ the title maskil does not refer to a particular individual but acts as a template for the community, and through his example the whole community participates in the protection against evil beings. For the author of 4Q511 the whole community is responsible for their own protection and the maskil is the authoritative voice to conduct the process. The idea of the maskil as a model of the ideal "sectarian self" was proposed by

³⁶ Ibid., 162.

³⁷ Charlotte Hempel, "The Profile and Character of Qumran Cave 4Q: The Community Rule Manuscripts as a Test Case," in *The Caves of Qumran: Proceedings of the International Conference, Lugano 2014*, ed. Marcello Fidanzio, STDJ 118 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 80-86, 82-83; Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 318-31.

³⁸ Newman, "Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture," 5.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)," 6.

⁴¹ Ibid., 13-14.

Newson⁴² and a similar argument was developed by Jokiranta, but applied to the “Teacher of Righteousness” in the Pesharim.⁴³ According to Nitzan,⁴⁴ the maskil holds, in 4Q510 and 511, the role of the special human who can perform a song, or lead the performance of a group, for protection or exorcising evil beings. Angel also points out that the maskil employs his qualities not just to frighten demons, but also to transmit knowledge about the ritual to the participants.⁴⁵ At the same time the possible privileges available to the maskil, such as access to elevated knowledge, also extend to the entire community. The group follows the example and acts as a mirror of the maskil. ⁴⁶ In 4Q510 1 4 he is the one performing the song, as follows:

vacat כבוד מלכותו the glory of His kingdom. vacat And I am ואני משכיל משמיע הוד

the/a maskil, who makes known His glorious
splendour so as to frighten and to te[r]rify]

The passage makes clear that the maskil is the one performing the song. He is the one “who makes known His glorious splendour”, which can also imply that he is the one who has access to this knowledge. The passage does not make clear to what extent this access is exclusive. It is the maskil’s act of making known the “glorious splendour” of God that is used to “frighten and terrify”. However, the name of God is not mentioned. Nitzan suggests that

⁴² Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 167.

⁴³ Jutta Jokiranta, "Qumran—The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social-Identity Approach," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Social Context*, ed. Philip Francis Esler (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 254–63.

⁴⁴ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 237.

⁴⁵ Angel, "Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511)," 26.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 12.

the absence of use God's name to ward off evil by the maskil is intentional and not an interpretation based on the fragmentary state of the evidence.⁴⁷

It is also important to investigate the group of beings associated with the maskil in different texts, highlighting how diverse this group can be. For instance, in 1QS 9:12-14a // 4Q259 [4QS^e] 3:6-10 the tone is universalistic, as noted by Hempel, and the actions of the maskil are directed towards all the living. Elsewhere this figure is related to specific groups, such as sons of light in 1QS 3:13, whom he is to teach and instruct.

In 4Q510, the maskil uses a moderate form of magic, since the song does not banish evil beings forever, nor destroy them, but rather "frightens" them – likely keeping them away from a specific group of people during a specific period.⁴⁸

The first preserved reference to a human agent who has an active role in 4Q511 is again the maskil. The text in 4Q511 2i 1-2(Angel 1 1-2) makes it clear that what follows is a song for the maskil, as follows:

למשביל שיר]] For the/a maskil a song []

קודשו ורוממוהו בול יודעי] [His holiness. He is to be exalted by all who know []

ורוש ממשלוֹת הַשְּׁבִית לַאֲיִן He stopped the head of the dominions without []

It is interesting that here the maskil is the one to whom the song is ascribed, which is different from 4Q510, where the maskil was the one performing the song. Unfortunately,

⁴⁷ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 249–50.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 248–49.

the line breaks off at this point. The presence of the maskil as the “owner” of the song highlights the liturgical role of this position, as well as demonstrating how he is fundamental in the battle against evil beings.

In the next line of the same fragment, 4Q511 2i 2 (Angel 1 2) reads: “He is to be exalted by all who know”. Knowledge is a key tool for fighting evil forces in several texts, as highlighted in chapter 6.3.3 below. The predominance of expressions like “exalt” shows that another way for fighting evil beings is the exultation of God. 4Q511 2i 2 (Angel 1 2) makes it clear that the maskil is related to knowledge and to a particular group of beings who know.

In line 3 it is possible to read: “he stopped the head of the dominions without”. It is possible that this line refers to God (He) and to a commander of evil beings, the “head of the dominions” (who can also be an evil being himself). However, the fragmentary state of the evidence also allows for other possibilities. Considering that the maskil is quoted two lines prior to this passage, can he be the one who stopped the head of the dominion?

Altogether, the maskil is preserved in 4Q510 and 511, where he acts as a powerful human figure. He has the power to perform the song in 4Q510 1 4, and he is the one for whom songs are intended in 4Q511 2i 1-2 (Angel 1 1-2). Based on the texts discussed above we can say that, he is responsible for channelling a part of God’s power and protecting a group against evil beings. The texts also make clear the types of weapons he can use to fight evil, with knowledge being a key factor.

In the next section, I will concentrate on the role of God in the fight against evil beings.

Chapter 4

4.2 God

God can be a prominent active agent in the fight against evil beings. This use is compatible with developments of magical practices and exorcisms of later periods,⁴⁹ where the name and power of different Gods is used to drive away evil beings and for protection.

In (11Q11) 4:4-7 God is the agent which will strike the evil being:

- 4 יככה יהוה מ[כה גדול]ה אשר לאבדך] THE LORD will strike you with a [grea]t
b[low] which is to destroy you[
- 5 ובחרון אפו [] עליד מלאך תקיף] And in his burning anger[] against you a
powerful angel[]
- 6 ר[]rw, who[] compassion over you,
which
- 7 ע[]ל כול אלה אשר[]ך לתהום רבה [] over all these, who[] you to the
great deep

The destruction of the evil being in line 4 is an action executed directly by God. The passage also mentions a “powerful angel” (מלאך תקיף) that will be sent by God to act against a subject in 4:5. The combination is unique to 11Q11 and is either a reference to a category of angels or a way to refer to angelic abilities more broadly. The “powerful angel” is an agent of God.

Sending an angel to battle against a specific evil being is attested in another text found at Qumran, namely the Book of Tobit. Five copies of Tobit have been found in Cave 4 (4Q196-

⁴⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 229.

4Q200). Van der Ploeg already noted the thematic similarity between Tobit and 11Q11.⁵⁰

The use of groups of angels against groups of evil beings is a motif similarly attested in the War Scroll. In the cosmological sections of the War Scroll the eschatological war is described as a war between a good side (usually the “sons/children of light”) and a bad side (sometimes represented by the “sons/children of darkness”) and their respective angelic counter parts.⁵¹ What we find in 11Q11 is, therefore, an account that a “powerful angel” will be sent by God to imprison an evil being. This could be happening in the future or it could be immediate, as one of the effects of the completion of the recitation of the psalm.

In other texts the role of God is less direct against evil beings, but he is the one who enables the speaker to fight evil beings in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4, as follows:

וְיָצִיטְךָ בְּחֻקֵּי אֱלֹהִים וְלֹא תִּלָּחֵם בְּרוּחֵי רָשָׁע וְלֹא
[] And strengthen yourself with the
]○○ statutes of God, and in order to fight against
the spirits of wickedness, and not [

It is not simply God who is giving strength, but specifically God’s statutes. The strength is necessary for the fight against the “spirits of wickedness”. The use of the word חֻק (statute) suggests some kind of role for legal stipulations in counteracting malevolent forces. It is by following the prescribed rules of God that the subject will find strength, and it will be this strength that will allow him/her to prevail over evil beings.

⁵⁰ Johannes Petrus Maria van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsAp^a),” in *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt: Festgabe für Karl Georg Kuhn zum 65ten Geburtstag* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 128–39, 134.

⁵¹ Philip R. Davies, “War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,” *EDSS* 2: 965–66.

God is not always referred to in an explicit way. The use of the second masculine singular suffix can be a way to refer to the divine being. This is the case in 8Q5 and 4Q511, but the fragmentary context makes it difficult to be sure about all the references.

The first word preserved in 8Q5 1 1 is בשמכה (in Your name), which could be an opening statement, similar to openings of later magical texts (e.g. T-S K 1.127).⁵² The fragment is damaged just after the term, so it is not entirely clear which being is referred to. However, considering the provenance of the fragment and the reference to the divine name in frag 2 3, it is very likely that the reference is to the name of God. Frag 2 6 preserves another example of the use of the second masculine singular suffix as a possible reference to a divine being. The line is not entirely preserved, and reads:

and all the spirits facing You [וְכֹל רוּחֵי הָרוּחוֹת לְפָנֶיךָ ע]

It is not clear who the spirits are here. The preserved divine name in line 3 of the same fragment makes it very likely that this is a reference to God, in front of whom the spirits are positioned.

The role of God in the fight against evil beings is also prominent in some of the lines from 4Q511, and actions taken directly by the divine being are described there. In 4Q511 30 1-3 (Angel 8 1-3) a group of beings or things is “sealed”. The passage is very fragmentary and reads as follows:

1 אֶרֶץ־גִּזְרֹתָּם חֲתַמְתָּהּ You sealed[l]and g^{oo}[

⁵²T-S K 1.127 c.f. Joseph Naveh, "Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran," *IEJ* 48.3/4 (1998): 252-261, 237.

2 [] ויעמקו[שְׁמִיִּם וְתִהְיוּמוֹת וּמַחֲ] and they are deep [] heavens and the depths and the *wmh*[

3 אתה אלִי הָתַמְּתָה בַעַד כּוֹלָם וְאֵין פּוֹתַח וּלְאַשׁוּר] You, my God, have sealed around all of
them and there is no one to open and to
which

Again, it is possible to observe the use of the second masculine singular as a possible reference to a divine being. It is not clear what is sealed by God (l. 3). The word חתם (to seal) appears another twelve times in the non-biblical Scrolls, mainly referring to secrets/mysteries that are sealed. It is mentioned ten times with reference to sealed knowledge/book/secret: CD 5:2 (book); 1QH^a 3:3 (every seal); 1QH^a 16:11 (secrets); 1QH^a 26:1 (mysteries); 4Q163 (4QpIsa^c) 15–16:3 (book); 4Q196 (4QpapTob^a ar) 15:1 (sealed); 4Q266 (4QD^a) 1a–b:9 (depths,); 4Q299 (4QMyst^a) 3c:02//4Q300 (4QMyst-b) 1a ii–b:2 (visions); 4Q427 (4QH^a) 7i:19 (mysteries). There are two references to a physical seal of a vessel, one in CD 11:9, in a list of prohibitions related to the Sabbath, and the other in 4Q274 (4QTohorot A) 3ii:3 (sealed vessel), but in the second case the text is too fragmentary to establish the context. The word “sealed” also occurs in 4Q509 (4QpapPrFêtes-c) 217:1. Thus, “sealed” in the case of 4Q511 could refer to the knowledge from God that allows humans to protect themselves from evil beings. Another option is that it could also be a physical seal for something, which I believe is less likely.

From the above examples it is clear that God has a prominent role in the fight against evil beings, and is many times the active agent in the text. The next section will focus on malevolent active beings.

Chapter 4

4.3 Satan, Belial, Lilith, Mastema

In the group of texts analysed, evil beings sometimes are personified figures. Such figures will have a more prominent role in later periods and in contemporary pop culture. Although they occur, the figures are less developed in the sense of personal characteristics.

4.3.1 Lilith

Lilith occurs twice in the Scrolls, in the related compositions 4Q510 1 5 and 4Q511 10 1 (Angel 11 1). The references occur in a list of evil beings.⁵³ According to Baillet,⁵⁴ they are references to an evil feminine entity that also appears in Isa 34:14⁵⁵ in a similar list of beings. The name derives from the Sumerian/Akkadian Lilitu. For Alexander, although the word Lilith is mentioned in Isa 34:14, it is a loanword representing a generic “demon” and does not reflect the idea of the feminine entity in the context of 4Q510.⁵⁶ Considering the passage in 4Q510, there is no indication that the mention of “Lilith” is not a reference to the Sumerian/Akkadian Lilitu. Furthermore, some characteristics associated with Lilith/Lilitu are also mentioned in 4Q560,⁵⁷ reinforcing the possibility that it was a known evil being.

4.3.2 Belial and Satan

Belial is the most prominent evil being attested in the Scrolls, but interestingly less prominent in the magical texts connected to evil beings than in other non-biblical texts such as the War Scroll (1Q33 1:1, 4:2, etc) and the Community Rule (1QS 1:24, 2:19, etc). The prominence of Belial does not necessarily come from the number of times he is quoted, but

⁵³ For more references on lists of evil beings please refer to chapter 4.9.

⁵⁴ Baillet, DJD 3: 218.

⁵⁵ The word is not preserved in any copies of Isaiah from Qumran.

⁵⁶ Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 336.

⁵⁷ For more on the connections between Lilith/Lilitu and diseases please refer to chapter 4.11.

by the role he is portrayed in. He is usually represented in a position of power, being commander of the evil forces.⁵⁸ Because of the dominant role attributed to this figure in a number of Scrolls, scholars tend to reconstruct references to it in many texts, but I believe that it is important to be more cautious. In later texts, Belial became one of the principal names to refer to Satan, alongside Mastema.

The etymology of the word בליעל is uncertain, with many possible theories. All that can be said for sure is that either it was a name with negative connotations and incorporated the prefix “beli” or that it is a mythological term the meaning of which is therefore lost to us.⁵⁹

The meaning of the word “belial” is complex. It is a noun, and designates abstract qualities in the semantic field of “worthlessness”, “uselessness”, and “wickedness”.⁶⁰ In the Scrolls from Qumran, the term *belial* is used as an abstract quality when written in construct pairs, but it also appears as a proper name. This may suggest that in some of the pairs it might be understood as a proper name too.⁶¹

One clear mention of Belial occurs in 6Q18 3 3. Unfortunately, while it is possible to read בליעל (with Belial) clearly, nothing else is preserved of the line. The fragment only has one other word preserved in the previous line (6Q18 3 2), עולמים (eternal) and it is not possible to draw more conclusions about it. Baillet⁶² points out that 1Q40 (Hymnic Composition?)9,

⁵⁸ Belial possesses or rules over a certain group of beings eg. 11Q13 2:12 (its interpretation concerns Belial and concerns the spirits of his lot) and in 4Q286 (and afterwards they shall damn Belial and all his guilty lot). Dimant, “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema.”

⁵⁹ B. Otzen, “בליעל,” *TDOT* 2: 133.

⁶⁰ Dimant, “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema,” 237–38.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Baillet, *DJD* 3, 134.

which is also highly fragmentary, has עולמים in one line and בבליעל in the next line. He asks if it maybe the same text. Considering the two words highlighted here this hypothesis is plausible, but the extremely fragmentary state of both texts does not allow any firm conclusion on the matter.

Another possible reference to Belial is found in 4Q511 103. It is badly preserved, the *bet* and *lamed* are barely readable. Baillet was the first to point to the possibility, and Abbeg, Cook and Wise follow his reading. A reference to Belial here would not be surprising, but is not certain.

In 11Q11 5:5 we read:

5 unto the ḥš[] he comes to you blȳ[] you
will [s]ay to him:

6 'Who are you, [] man and of the seed of
the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of

7 וּקְרַנֹּיֶךָ קַרְנֵי חֹשֶׁךְ אֶתָּה וְלֹא אֹר [w and your horns are horns of ill[us]ion,
you are darkness and not light,

This psalm can be delimited as starting at 5:3 and ending at column 6:3 and is attributed to

David. Pajunen⁶⁴ reads the remains of the word וְהָשׁׁוּב as part of “to Satan”. This

reconstruction of Satan in 11Q11 as a personified figure differs from most scholarly

⁶³ The traces of the letter following the š in the text are too small to identify with certainty whether it is a *mem* or a *tet*. From the photos available at the Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library it is possible to see that the top part of the stroke is in a sharper angle than the *mem* elsewhere in the manuscript, an angle that is more consistent with a *tet*.

⁶⁴ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 144.

reconstructions of the same passage, who propose reading “the hea[vens]”.⁶⁵ As for the second word the editors of DJD 23 and Pajunen prefer the option of “by night”⁶⁶ while Puech reads it as “Belial”.⁶⁷

Let us explore the possibilities of readings in this line. First, I will use the reconstruction Satan (for completing the שָׁטָן) and night (for בַּלַּיִם) in line 5. The line would read as follows: “to Satan, he comes to you in the night, you will say to him:”. To understand if this reconstruction is plausible we will first turn our attention to the two key words.

This division between night and day is established in Gen 1:3-5 and it is from the association with darkness that many of the meanings of *laylâh* derivate.⁶⁸ The night is connected to evil and danger but it is also the time for dreams and visions.⁶⁹

The night as a dangerous moment is expressed in 11Q11 6:7, “the dread of night or the arrow that flies by day”. In this case the word “night” is connected with “dread”. Dread is a word that is linked with actions of evil beings in the Community Rule (1QS 1:17 and 10:15), and its association in 11Q11 with the night time confirms the danger of the period. Cant 3:8 alludes to a similar type of danger, when armed men accompany the bride’s palanquin to protect it from the “dreads of the night”.⁷⁰ Threats during the wedding night are attested in

⁶⁵ Most scholars read this as “the hea[vens]” Puech, “11QPsAp - un rituel d’exorcismes”; van der Ploeg, “Un petit rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsApa)”; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 181-205.

⁶⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 199; Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 144.

⁶⁷ Puech, “11QPsAp - un rituel d’exorcismes,” 382–83.

⁶⁸ In Job 17:12 the word is used metaphorically to express “suffering, disaster”. This metaphorical use is also present in the DSS and in later sources. Ryan P. Bonfiglio, “לילה,” *ThWQ* 2: 520.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 517.

⁷⁰ Heinz-Josef Fabry, “לילה,” *TDOT* 7: 538.

many texts in antiquity and appear to have their most developed expression in Judaism in Tobit.⁷¹

It is possible that certain apotropaic prayers were to be recited in the night to achieve protection during this period. Praying by night is a practice attested in several passages in the Scrolls (1QS 9:26-10:8; 1QH^a 20 7-14, 25 30-3; 4Q334; 4Q503),⁷² and Penner analysed the viability of the practice in light of research on the physiological aspects of sleeping patterns in premodern societies.⁷³

As for the word שטן it is attested in several Semitic languages and in Hebrew has the meaning of “adversary”, “opponent”.⁷⁴ The root שטן can refer to human disputes or it can refer to a heavenly accuser, as in Job⁷⁵ and Zechariah.⁷⁶ In later Christian texts and art,⁷⁷ Satan is depicted as a powerful demon.

If satan is the subject of the text, this would suggest an attack during the night, which is a dangerous time. This interpretation is plausible, but it is important to consider the grammar of the passage. There is an article before the sin/shin, which makes it impossible to take the words that follow as a proper noun, so the identification with “Satan” as a personalized

⁷¹ Tupa Guerra, “O Medo Da Primeira Noite: Uma Análise Do Complexo Das Interdições Nupciais No Livro de Tobias” (Universidade de Brasília, 2012), <http://repositorio.unb.br/handle/10482/10975>.

⁷² Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 172–80, 190–220.

⁷³ Ibid., 166–71.

⁷⁴ Nielsen, “שטן,” *TDOT* 14: 73.

⁷⁵ *Stn* in Job is interpreted in different ways, from a designation of a function to a characteristic. For more information about the uses of *stn* in Job please refer to Rivkah Schärf Kluger, *Satan in the Old Testament* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

⁷⁶ The Satan of Zechariah is an attendant of the divine court, a being with a determined role, likely checking and testing the loyalty of the LORD’S subjects. According to Blenkinsopp this role is similar to “the king’s eye” or “the king’s ear”, a Persian official who travelled checking up on local officials. Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Wisdom and Law in the Old Testament: The Ordering of Life in Israel and Early Judaism*, Rev. ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1995), 62.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

figure is very unlikely. What follows in lines 6-7 is a description of the evil being's appearance and nature, as the offspring of humankind and "the seed of the ho[ly ones]", basically a "giant" (in the parlance of the Book of Watchers tradition of the monstrous offspring of fallen angels procreating with human women). It is noteworthy that the term *satan* until now never occurs in an account of the offspring of the Watchers and the daughters of men in our sources.

Secondly, I will consider the reconstruction as the *satan* (for completing the שָׁטָן) and Belial (for בְּלִי) in line 5. The phrase would be read as follows: "to the sa[tan] he comes to you, Bel[ial], you will say to him:". This possibility can be justified by the material evidence, though the resulting text is odd. Satan and Belial are not associated with one another in any other source from Qumran. This alone cannot exclude the possibility, but the use of both would also not be appropriate in a grammatical sense. Line 6 addresses an individual referred to in the singular, which makes the possibility of two evil beings in this line unlikely. The third possibility is "the heav[ens] he comes to you, Belial, you shall say to him:". On this hypothesis Belial is the name of the evil being that comes to the person in danger. As in the case of the *satan* discussed above, this would imply that Belial is one of the offspring of humans and angels, the bastards. This would be the first attestation of Belial being described as one of the offspring between the daughters of man and the Watchers. Belial is a prominent figure in the Scrolls, and the reference to Belial at the beginning of the text also ties in with the mention of "the sons of Belial" in column 6:3. Again, in this case the word is not complete (we only have a *beit* and a *lamed*) and the remains can also be translated "of ni[ght]".

Considering the discussion above I believe that the most probable reading for line 5 is the one proposed by the editors of DJD 23, “the heavens. When he comes to you in the night you will say to him”.⁷⁸ However, this is not certain and I choose to not reconstruct any of the options in the translation.

4.3.3 Mastema

Mastema is a noun that designates the abstract characteristics of ‘hostility’, ‘animosity’. In the DSS Mastema can be an attributive characteristic associated with other titles, designating a proper noun as in Jub 10:8; 11:5, 11; 18:9, 12; 19:28, 48:2, 9, 12, 15, 49:2. In these examples, the “Angel of mastema” is the one who controls the evil forces, but is portrayed in a vague way, with only the command role as a clear characteristic.⁷⁹ It occurs also as a simple noun- cf. 1QS 3:23; 1QM 13:4 ii; CD 16:5 and designates an attitude. The word mastema in the Scrolls is always defining other words rather than occurring as a proper name by itself.⁸⁰ The word *מִשְׁטָמָה* (hatred/mastema) is preserved in 6Q18 9, but unfortunately it is the only word preserved in the line.

Designations for individual evil beings that will later become common, such as Lilith, Belial and Mastema, are possibly already attested as personalized in the magical texts associated to evil beings. However, their presence in this corpus is not very prominent, Lilith is preserved twice in 4Q510 1 5 and 4Q511 10 1 (Angel 11 1), Belial is certainly preserved once in 6Q18 3 3 and possibly in 11Q11 5:5 and 4Q511 103, while Mastema could be in 6Q18 9.

The references are sparse and do not appear to be the focus of the texts. Some of the

⁷⁸ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 199.

⁷⁹ Dimant, “Between Qumran Sectarian and Non-Sectarian Texts: The Case of Belial and Mastema,” 246.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 247.

occurrences are fragmentary, and it is not possible to affirm with certainty whether they were mentioned as individual beings or as nouns portraying an attitude.

4.4 Destroyer

Another interesting figure from 4Q511 is *משחית* (the destroyer), who is referred to in 4Q511

1 5-7 (Angel 3 5-7):

- | | | |
|---|--|--|
| 5 | <i>כולם יגילו ל אלוהי צדק ברנן</i>]ישועות | All of them. They shall rejoice for the God |
| | | of righteousness with [] for/of salvation |
| 6 | <i>כי א אין</i>]משחית בגבוליהם ורוחי רשע | because there is no destroyer within their |
| | | borders and the spirits of wickedness |
| 7 | <i>לו יתהלכו במ כיא הופיע כבוד אלוהי</i> | do not walk among because the glory of |
| | | the God of knowledge has shone forth |
| 8 | <i>דעות באמריו וכול בני עולה לוא יתכלכלו</i> | through his words. All the sons of injustice |
| | | will not be sustained. |

bottom margin bottom margin

In the same line the expression “spirits of wickedness” is preserved. Destroyer appears a further seven times in the Scrolls. Twice in the Hodayot (1QH^a 11:39 and 24:23), on both occasions together with adversary (*שטן*). It also appears twice in 4QBeatitudes (4Q525 8:3), once in 4QRenewed Earth (4Q475 5), (but in this case the word is not complete) in an eschatological scene. The final, very fragmentary appearance is in 4QFragments with Red Ink (4Q481d 1:l 3).

In the case of 4Q511 1 5-6 (Angel 3 5-6) a group is invited to rejoice before God because there is no “destroyer” within their borders. According to line 7 it is ‘the glory of the God of

knowledge' that offers protection. The identity of the destroyer remains unclear. Nor is it possible to infer the meaning of the expression from other occurrences of the word in the same period. In the same line we learn that "the spirits of wickedness" and the destroyer appear to belong to the same scheme, but are different beings. Considering the multitude of evil beings represented in 4Q511 it is clear that the phenomena observed are complex and that different types of evil beings coexisted in the texts. It is also safe to assume that for the average person this coexistence also existed, and that a clear hierarchy of evil beings is a later phenomenon.

4.5 *Ruah*

A common Hebrew term in the Scrolls for referring to a being that is a point of contact between the two worlds of humans and the supernatural (or human and trans-human) is רוח.⁸¹ However, the term רוח does not exclusively represent an evil being and can also mean "spirit", "angel", "evil being", "a human being's spirit", "God's spirit", "wind" and "breath".⁸² It is possible to illuminate the meaning of רוח in the DSS by referring to syntactical analysis. For example, *ruah* in the singular with one or more genitives predominantly describes the "spirit of a human being".⁸³ The meaning angel and evil being follow the same grammatical pattern.⁸⁴ Alexander prefers to define *ruah* when referring to angels or demons as referring

⁸¹ For detailed analysis to the term רוח at the Dead Sea Scrolls see Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*.

⁸² Ibid., 185–91; David J. A. Clines, "רוח," *DCH* 7: 427–28.

⁸³ Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 186.

⁸⁴ Both "demon" and "angel" as meanings for *ruah* are marked by the gender masculine, which indicates a personalization of the term. When used with another meaning *ruah* is usually in the feminine See *ibid.*, 187 and 222.

to a non-corporeal normally invisible “being”.⁸⁵ It is important to recognise, however, that “spirits” are not always regarded as incorporeal beings in the DSS, as noted by Popović.⁸⁶ רוח is often combined with other words, and the meaning derives from the collocation which will be dealt with below. It can be a benevolent being (e.g. 1QH^a 2:4) or a malevolent one (e.g. 1QM 13:2, 13:4).⁸⁷ In the following sections I present the variety of terms and contexts, that רוח is preserved in the magical texts related to evil beings.

4.5.1 Spirits of Understanding and Knowledge

As noted above in the section on angels, 4Q510 1 6 refers to a רוח בינה (“spirit of understanding”). The expression could be a reference to a class of angels, but this is not certain. The passage reads as follows:

and those which fall upon men without
 warning to wander from a spirit of
 לבבם ונִסְּתָם בַּקֶּץ מִמֶּשֶׁל[ת]
 understanding and to make their heart
 desolate and their [] during the time of
 dominion [of

Considering the context, the “spirit of understanding” is something from which men wander if befallen. The word בינה can be used to describe a variety of meanings in the semantic field of “understanding”, such as “perception”, “observation”, “comprehension” and occurs as a

⁸⁵ According to Alexander “demons” are distinct from “angels”, even from the fallen ones. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 332.

⁸⁶ Popović, “Anthropology, Pneumatology, and Demonology in Early Judaism.”

⁸⁷ Sekki, *Meaning of Ruah at Qumran*, 148–49.

synonym of “wisdom” and all the meanings associated with it.⁸⁸ Rather than referring to angels as a group of beings the “spirit of understanding” here represents a source of understanding available to humans.

A similar combination is preserved in 6Q18 5 3:

1 [○] [לְמוֹ] [] []

2 [מל'אבי צדק במע] an]gels of righteousness in [

3]they [shall] hold firmly to the spirit of
]חֹזְקוֹ בְרוּחַ דַּעַת[
 knowledge[

4 eter]nity, they shall not come to an end לְמִיָּם לֹא יִכְלֹוּ

bottom margin

Baillet affirms that the expression “spirit of knowledge” is one of the gifts of the messiah. It also appears in 1QH^a 14:25, 1QSb 5:25, Job 15:2, Sir 39:6.⁸⁹ Considering the plural of the verb חזק the reference to the spirit of knowledge is unlikely to a reference to a messianic gift here, but rather refers again to a source of understanding available to humans as a collective rather than to one person. Knowledge is used to counteract the action of evil beings in 4Q511 (e.g. 4Q511 2ii 2 (Angel 1 2), 42 7, etc.), so holding fast to the “spirit of knowledge” can also be a protective measure.

Despite the fragmentary state of the passage, it is clear that the “spirit of knowledge” is something that can be actively used for protection by a group of beings. Based on the next

⁸⁸ Samuel Thomas, “בין,” *ThWQ* 1: 430-37, 430-31.

⁸⁹ Baillet, DJD 3: 134.

line, we learn that that holding fast to the “spirit of knowledge” will prevent this group from annihilation.

4Q444 1–4i + 5i 3 has also a preserved reference to a “spirit of knowledge”, as follows:

בְּ[in]blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of
 knowledge and understanding, reliability
]וֹב and righteousness God has placed

In this case, the passage is expanded and we have “spirit of knowledge and understanding”, “reliability and righteousness”. It is not possible to define whether the attributes are to be considered as separate entities or/and if they represent the speaker’s abilities. In the same column in line 1, it is possible to read that God was responsible opening the mouth of the speaker with His true knowledge. The spirit of knowledge quoted in line 3 could be a representation of the knowledge given by God, but may also refer to a being. In either case, it is clear that “knowledge”, “understanding”, “reliability” and “righteousness” are positive characteristics that can be used for protection against evil beings.

רוּחֵי אֱמֶת (spirits of truth) are also present in 4Q444 6 4, but unfortunately the line has only these two words preserved. אֱמֶת can encompass a variety of meanings, mostly connected to stability, durability, faithfulness and truth.⁹⁰ When used with God אֱמֶת is something that belongs to the divine being, a characteristic of being divine. God can give *’emeth* to man which offers protection.⁹¹ Considering that truth is one of the four characteristics in 4Q444

⁹⁰ Stephen Hultgren, “אֱמֶת,” *ThWQ* 1: 228.

⁹¹ Jepsen, “אֱמֶת,” *TDOT* 1: 316.

1–4i + 5i 3, it is likely that it is another reference to a protective spirit. God's *'emeth* is also a protective measure in Ps 91:4 ("His *'emeth* is a shield and a buckler").

The "Spirit of Knowledge" portrayed in 4Q510, 511, 6Q18 and 4Q444 can be a reference to an internal characteristic given by God to humans. Nevertheless, this is not always clear from the passages, and it could be interpreted in some passages as a being sent by God to aid humans in the fight/protection against evil beings. Whichever the case, it is clear that "knowledge" is a fundamental weapon in the struggle against evil forces.

Thus far, I have focused on benevolent angelic beings; however not all the references to רוח are describing the same type of being. Turning now to other types the next section will discuss the role of the "destroying angels" in 4Q510.

4.5.2 Spirits of the Destroying Angels

The "spirits of the destroying angels" are referred to in a list of evil beings from 4Q510 1 5-6:

כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים
לילית אחים ו] of bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers
and []

The terms רוח (spirit) and מלאך (angel) are not found together anywhere else in the Scrolls.

In 1QM 13:12; 14:4-19 the destroying angels are part of Belial's army, but not the spirits of the destroying angels. They "walk in accord with the rule of darkness", so are clearly evil beings. "Destroying angels" are not always portrayed as evil. They are mentioned at 1QS 4:12, in a context where they are the ones who will make evil doers pay. Their role is closer to God, in a position of supporting a divine judgment, rather than against Him. In CD 2:20 they have a similar role, punishing the ones that rebel against the proper way.

Spirits of destruction (רוחי חבל) are also mentioned in 4Q511 43 6, but in this case there is no mention of angels and it is more likely that it refers to another type of beings.

The spirits of the destroying angels in 4Q510 1 5 are clearly powerful evil beings from which the song sought out protection. It is possible that this text portrays a tradition also represented in the War Scroll, with the fundamental difference of here being “spirits” of angels and not simply angels themselves.

4.5.3 Spirits of Wickedness

Another word that appears in combination with *ruah* is רשע (wickedness).⁹² In 1QM 3:9, 4:3-4 the word appears as an inscription on the field standards of the enemies, and the wicked are the ones who will be defeated (1QM 1:6; 13; 14:7). In 4Q511 1 6 (Angel 3 6) it is combined with “spirits”, רוחי רשע (spirits of wickedness). The line reads:

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| 5 | כולם יגילו ל אלוהי צדק ברנ[] ישועות | All of them. They shall rejoice for the God of righteousness with [] for/of salvation |
| 6 | כי א[] משחית בגבוליהם ורוחי רשע | because there is no destroyer within their borders and the spirits of wickedness |
| 7 | לו יתהלכו במ כיא הופיע כבוד אלוהי | do not walk among because the glory of the God of knowledge has shone forth |
| 8 | דעות באמריו וכול בני עולה לוא יתכלכלו | through his words. All the sons of injustice will not be sustained. |

bottom margin bottom margin

⁹² Kristen Schäfers, “רשע”, *ThWQ* 3: 722-41.

“Destroyer” is likely a particular type of being, as discussed above in chapter 4.4. Besides 4Q511 and 4Q444 that will be explored below, the exact expression “spirits of wickedness” (ורוחי רשע) does not occur elsewhere in the Scrolls. The use of the word רשע (wickedness) in parallelism with destroyer suggests that this type of spirit is some kind of evil being connected to the “destroyer”.

The “spirits of wickedness” do not walk with the righteous group because of the brightness of God’s glory. The glory of God is being used as a type of shield, it is the force that prevents the “spirits of wickedness” to walk with the other group. This also implies that in other circumstances they might walk together. The description of the separation of both groups when the “glory of God shone forth” can be a reminder to the righteous not to follow the path of the wicked, to be careful not to follow the path of otherworldly beings or both. It is clear that the “spirits of wickedness” are a group of beings that do evil and very likely have an otherworldly aspect to them.

4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4 also has a reference to the “spirits of wickedness”, as follows:

וזה ותתחזק בחוקי אל ולהלחם ברוחי רשעה ולוא [] And strengthen yourself with the statutes of God, and in order to fight against]oo the spirits of wickedness, and not [

The passage does not shed light on the identity of the “spirits of wickedness” but makes clear that they will be fought against, and also clarifies that the strength to fight them will come from the “statutes of God”.⁹³

⁹³ For more information on the importance of the statutes of God in 4Q444 please refer to chapter 6.3.2.

4Q560 1i 6 preserves a badly damaged reference to the “wicked ones”. Unfortunately, not much more can be said about the remains of the line.

In summary the “spirits of wickedness” are one of the many types of spirits referred to in 4Q511 and 4Q444. It is clear that the “glory of God” can keep them at bay according to 4Q511 and that the “statutes of God” are a source of strength in the fight against them in 4Q444.

Additionally to the “spirits of the destroying angels” and the “spirits of wickedness”, the magical texts related to evil beings also make reference to other beings, as described in the next section.

4.5.4 Spirit of Impurity

4Q444 1–4i + 5i 8 is fragmentary and reads as follows:

[מְזֻרִים וְרוּחַ הַטְּמֵאָה]bards and the spirit of impurity

Unfortunately, the state of preservation does not allow for much information on the nature of the “spirit of impurity”, other than that it is connected to the bastards. Chazon⁹⁴ points out that the use of טְמֵאָה (impurity) is a reference to the mythological origin of the bastards, as the illegitimate children from the union between angels and the daughters of men. Many types of impurity are expressed by the word טְמֵאָה. From metaphorical uses to express certain activities, many times related to foreign cults, to certain animal types, menstruation, death, serious diseases, sexual discharges and non-marital sexual practices.⁹⁵ Since in this

⁹⁴ Baillet, DJD 3 : 77.

⁹⁵ Hannah K. Harrington, “טְמֵאָה,” *ThWQ* 2: 22-34.

6 [וְיִזְכָּר וּמַעֲשָׂיו הַקְּדוּשִׁים] his holy deeds

7 Evil [רו] הָ רעה ה [] בּוֹ]

The word that defines those spirits is הבל (vanity)⁹⁶. The term הבל carries the idea of the unsubstantial and consequently something vain. It is used to describe idols in Jer 10:15, but elsewhere refers to the fruitlessness of the human enterprises, e.g. Eccl 1:2. Considering that according to the previous line, 4Q511 15:4, something is “before his/His might” it is possible that the passage describes a judgment scene. The root *gbr* is important in 4Q510 1 3, where it is describing a characteristic of God that is capable of “dismay and scatter” evil beings.

4.5.6 Spirits of Dispute

Another type of spirits represented in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2 are the “spirits of dispute”:

truth to a[|l][]. They became spirits of
dispute in my (bodily) structure; statute[s of

The spirits of dispute are part of the bodily structure of the speaker. Chazon⁹⁷ suggests two possible interpretations. The first considers the two spirits as coming from God, as explicit in lines 1 and 3 (“from His holy spirit” and “the spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness”). If we consider that the meaning of רִיב is connected to dispute and quarrel⁹⁸ it is less likely that two Godly spirits would have reason to dispute with each other. As a second hypothesis, Chazon proposes that the spirits of dispute may comprise a spirit from God and an evil/opposing one. In this case, still according to the Chazon, the expression

⁹⁶ F. Brown, S. Driver, and C. Briggs, eds., “הבל,” *BDB*: 210.

⁹⁷ Chazon, DJD 29: 375.

⁹⁸ David J. A. Clines, "ריב," *DCH* 7: 478–81.

ריב (spirits of dispute) would be the closest linguistic parallel to ריבי כול רוחי (disputes of all spirits of ..) in 4Q511 48-49 +51 lines 7-8. The same group of fragments from 4Q511 also attest the expression ב[גיתי מלחמות ("in my body there are battles"). 4Q511 states explicitly that in the body of the speaker, likely the maskil, divine knowledge and evil spirits are found side by side. Such a reading is reminiscent of the idea that Belial has an evil effect on the sons of light, expressed in 1QS 3:21-23 "until now the spirits of truth and deceit struggle in the heart of humans". Considering the semantic field where ריב is inserted I believe that Chazon's second hypothesis is more likely and the disputing spirits in 4Q444 are antagonistic forces of good/evil. The fact that they are present in the bodily structure of the speaker is, then, a reference to an internal struggle.

4.5.7 Direct Address to a Spirit

In 4Q560 there are two references to spirit in the singular – both times a vocative being addressed by the speaker in the phrase "I am adjuring you/ I adjure you, oh spirit" (4Q560 1ii 5-6). We, thus, have two references to the speaker challenging a spirit.

Penney and Wise have shown that it is unlikely that מומה means oath in this context and prefer to translate it as participle *aphel* of the root ימא "I adjure you, O spirit".⁹⁹ In that case, the word is related to the idea of "vow", usually expressed by the word נדר in Aramaic and used as "adjure" in several examples. As pointed out by Penney and Wise as well as Puech, if

⁹⁹ Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 632.

רוח is a vocative it should be in the *status emphaticus*.¹⁰⁰ However, Penney and Wise also acknowledge that such an omission occurs several times in 4Q560.¹⁰¹

4.5.8 Very fragmentary evidence

Some of the references where רוח occurs by itself are very fragmentary. 4Q511 frag 15 5 has a reference to רוחי הבלים (spirits of vanity), but no further information is given about them.

They might be a type of evil being, but could also represent something of an inner struggle.

In the same fragment, in 15 7, the word רעה (evil) is preserved in a fragmentary context. A

רוח רעה (evil spirit) is mentioned explicitly in 4Q511 81 3, but there is not much more left of

the fragment (see also 6Q18 21 2). The term רוח alone occurs elsewhere in 4Q511, e.g. in

60:2 (Angel 12:2):

- | | | |
|---|--------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | רוח ולישרים | and for the upright |
| 2 | רוח בלכם רוח | all of you [are] spirit[s] |
| 3 | רוח בלא | prison |

The translation of line 2 is debated.¹⁰² The only remaining word from the next line, the

“prison” (בלא), might be an indicator that this is a reference to evil spirits.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 647–48; Puech, DJD 37: 301.

¹⁰¹ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 648.

¹⁰² Baillet translates רוח בלכם as “Vous tous, esprits” DJD 7: 246 while; Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg Jr, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 214 translate “all of you [are] spirits”. Considering the plural at the end of בלכם I will follow the second translation.

8Q5 2 6 is another good example of a reference to *ruah* that is lacking context. The line mentions]וכול הרוחות לפניכה ע[(and all the spirits are facing You). Considering the previous line, which mentions “persecutors. And the judgements”, it is likely that we have here an account of a judgment scene. However, it is not possible to be sure whether the spirits represent good or evil beings. Baillet¹⁰³ translates line 6 as “and all the spirits stand before You” and interprets it as a call made to the speaker from 8Q5 1 to join the spirits in front of God. I believe that is more likely for this to be about the spirits being called to face God, be they good or bad. The left part of the next line is preserved and it preserves an empty space, which can be either a bottom margin, which would allow the judgment scene to continue in another column or a *vacat*, which could imply that this is the end of this portion of text.

4Q511 24 contains four words, each from a different line. רוחות (spirits); גדופיהם (their slanders); בם (with them); פחז (lewdness). It is important in a case like this not to jump to conclusions based on little evidence, but I should emphasize how spirits and lewdness are somewhat close. Sexual misdeeds are also one of the traps of Belial according to the Damascus Document (CD 4:13-5:11). If it was the traps of Belial which lead people to sexual misconduct, it is safe to assume that in CD evil beings are related to sexual misconduct that defiles the sanctuary. If there was a tradition of associating sexual misconduct to the action of evil beings, this fragmentary passage in 4Q511 24 could be related to the subject, maybe in a similar way to the “spirit of impurity” from 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 8.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Baillet, DJD 3: 162.

¹⁰⁴ For more on it, please refer to chapter 4.5.4.

A much-debated passage of 4Q511 is 10 (Angel 11). As stated before¹⁰⁵ I will not reconstruct 4Q511 based on 4Q510 and only analyse the remains of text that we have in 4Q511. The word Lilith is clearly preserved in 10 1 (Angel 11 1), but it is the only word remaining in this line. The next line has “lead astray a spirit”. Based on the reference to Lilith it is likely that we are dealing with an evil spirit of some sort. Although difficult to access, the fragmentary evidence that only preserves the word *ruah* is important to show the prominence of the word in all the texts. Just the word by itself is not conclusive as referring to an evil being, but it is an indication of the unseen world represented in the texts.

4.6 Dread and Terror

פחד (dread)¹⁰⁶ and ירא (terror)¹⁰⁷ are key words for the understanding of evil beings in the Scrolls. Hebrew has many terms to express different aspects of fear and those particular terms appear quite frequently in the magical texts related to evil beings.

The noun *paḥad* (פחד) is connected to the experience of fear and usually denotes the experience of dread (Deut 28:67) or its somatic manifestation, trembling (Job 4:14). *Paḥad* can also be concerned with the object of dread or the cause of it, referring to these instead of the subject (Isa 24:17, Job 3:25; 22:10). In the DSS, the feeling of fear, many times without a specific object, is one of the reasons that may lead people to unfaithfulness.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ For the debate on the relation between 4Q510 and 4Q511 see chapter 3 and Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511).”

¹⁰⁶ David J. A. Clines, “פחד,” *DCH* 6: 673–76.

¹⁰⁷ Clines, “ירא,” *DCH* 4: 276–81.

¹⁰⁸ Ulrich Dahmen, “פחד,” *ThWQ* 3: 276–79.

Yārē' (ירא) is another word that is also related to fear. In most cases in the HB and in the DSS where *yārē'* occurs, the object of fear is God.¹⁰⁹ This fear is understood as both terrible and holy, inspiring humans to terror and retreat, but it is also used in parallel to words such as attraction, trust and love. *Yārē'* towards God also enables the person who feels it to be feared by others.¹¹⁰

Fear and terror are mentioned several times in 4Q511 8 4-5 reads:

4	ש[יר שני לפחד מִירָאיוֹ]	[] a second song to frighten those who terrify[]
5	תְּעוֹתוֹ בַּתְּעִיּוֹת וְלֹא לְכָל־ת	his straying with humiliations but not for destru[ction] ¹¹¹

Paḥad is frequently used to express the fear that a subject feels in the face of the power/glory of God. The subject's behaviour can be either righteous or wicked. The other key word in the passage is *yārē'*, which can also represent the idea of fear/astonishment in front of a divine being, but is also used to refer to fear that is more mundane. The fragment breaks off just after מִירָאיוֹ. The song is to frighten a specific group and the word is usually translated as "those who terrify him". However, the *waw* at end of מִירָאיוֹ is indicated by Baillet¹¹² as only a possible reading based on scant remains. Based on DJD 7 Plate LIX and the multispectral images available in the Leon Levy Digital Library it is clear that this reading is

¹⁰⁹ Brent A. Strawn, "ירא," *ThWQ* 2: 264–65; Fuhs, "ירא," *TDOT* 6: 296.

¹¹⁰ Strawn, *ThWQ* 2: 265–66.

¹¹¹ The space between lines 4 and 5 is smaller than that between the rest of the lines in the same fragment, almost as if the scribe has squeezed two lines in the space of one. Between lines 5 and 6 there is a gap. It is not as big as the previous *vacat*, but it is noticeable.

¹¹² Baillet, DJD 7: 224.

most uncertain (and the trace is too curved to belong to a *waw*). Baillet translates it as “him”. Based on the limited remains I will translate it without the suffix, “those who terrify”. The question that remains is who are “those who terrify”? They are clearly in an antagonistic position in relation to the speaker of the song and in a position to cause dread, but in a different way from the narrator. The antagonistic position of “those who terrify” puts them in the category of evil beings. The next line refers to “humiliations” which might be a reference to humiliations of the evil beings or to the righteous who will be humiliated during a certain period.

Nitzan has interpreted 4Q511 8 4-5¹¹³ as demonstrating the limited power of the performer. Only God is able to destroy the antagonistic forces, likely evil beings, and the performer can merely keep them away for a limited time. 4Q511 8 5 makes it very clear that the song is “not for destru[ction]”, and I agree with Nitzan, it is likely that it reinforces the idea that humans, specialists or not, can only keep evil beings at bay, but not destroy them. 4Q511 191 includes a fragmentary further reference to מִרְיָא (“one who terrifies”) with no context preserved.

A further reference is found in 4Q511 11 4-5:

4 יִפְגְּעוּ לַעֲנוֹת בָּן they fall upon to afflict

5 אֵלֶּיךָ מִרְאיוֹן those who terrify him

It is likely that “those who terrify him” are connected to or are the same group as the ones who “fall upon to afflict”. Both are active roles, but could refer to humans or otherworldly

¹¹³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

4.7 Those Who Fall Upon Men without Warning

A constant threat is the main characteristic of some evil beings. They can “fall upon men” without any warning. In 4Q510 1 6:

והפוגעים פתע פתאום לעות רוח בינה ולהשם and those which fall upon men without

לבבם ונִסְּתָם בקץ ממשל[ת] warning to wander from a spirit of

understanding and to make their heart and

their [] desolate during the time of the

dominion [of

This line begins with final type of evil being to appear in a list of evil beings¹¹⁶ in the previous line, פתע פתאום (those who fall upon men without warning). Since there is a *waw* as a prefix in פתע פתאום והפוגעים it is more likely that “and those who fall upon men without warning” are a different group, distinct from the one that precedes in the following list: “all the spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers”. In addition, “those who fall upon men without warning” are likely to be particularly dangerous, since the description of something that can “fall upon men without warning” suggests the idea of constant danger with no previous sign or explanation. Another characteristic of this group of evil beings is that they are capable of leading people astray from the “spirit of understanding”.

Another reference to the same type of beings is found in 4Q511 11:

2

מו[עֲדֵי צָרוֹת] times of distress

¹¹⁶ For more information on lists of evil beings, please refer to chapter 4.8.

3	הוּ [מ]קלל לכול ◦]	c]ursing to all
4	יִפְגְּעוּ לַעֲנוֹת בְּ]	they fall upon to afflict
5	עֲרֹ מִרְאִיו]	those who terrify him
6	מִמֶּנִּי [מֵתוּךְ מִ]	from the midst of
7	לֹא תִרְאוּ]	you shall not see
8	הַפְּגוּעִים הֵם ◦◦]	Those who are fallen upon/ are befallen by
9	עוֹ [לְמִי כִּי אַחֲרָיו]	fo]rever for the latter
10	וְאַחֲרָיו מִן] vacat[vacat and the latter
11	בָּחַר לְכָל]	he chose for
12	אֱלֹהִים הֵם ◦]	G]od

Unfortunately, 4Q511 11 is too fragmentary to allow a full understanding of the kind of dangers being referred to. Line 3 reads “cursing to all”, which supports the idea that the entity that “falls upon” people is menacing. Line 7 preserves the words “you shall not see” which reinforces the sense of an atmosphere characterised by a lack of control and danger, mostly likely provoked by a non-visible threat.

The ambience created by this is one of constant threat. Readers/listeners are thus urged to be vigilant at all times because this evil thing can always harm them. Baillet asks if these are another category of demons, “Des esprits ‘frappeurs’ ou qui ‘frappent’ de possession”,

attested also in 1QH^a 17:5. According to Baillet, these threats are similar to Targ II Esth 1:2.

He also points out that since¹¹⁷ 11QPs^a 27:9-10 attributes the composition of four songs to be sung over the פגועים (stricken, possessed) to David, it is likely that the latter are the victims of this particular type of evil being.¹¹⁸ If Baillet is correct, “fall upon” or “befallen” could imply a specific type of danger brought about by a specific type of being.

In 6QpapHymn (6Q18) 4 3 we read:

לָאֵלֹהִים יִפְּלוּ]they shall fall

It is not clear if the ones who “shall fall” are human or belong to an otherworldly group, and I believe that this distinction is not important in this case. They are likely evil, since the verb can mean “fall upon” someone. This can either be a reference to the annihilation of a group of evil beings or a reference to a group of evil beings befalling humans.

In short, “falling upon” can be a reference to “possession” in 4Q510 and in 511. 4Q510 1 6 makes it clear that “those which fall upon men without warning” refers to a type of danger that can attack at any moment. This idea of insecurity is also repeated in 4Q511 11. In both cases, it can at the same time refer to evil which can always befall people and a reminder of the danger, in order to keep people fearful and more willing to follow the correct laws.

The case of 6Q18 is less evident. 6Q18 4 3 refers to a “fall”, but with no indication by the context whether we are dealing with a fall of evil beings or evil beings falling upon someone, similarly to 4Q510 and 511. The other possibly connected reference is in 6Q18 6 1, which mentions “upon him” but not a “fall”. If 6Q18 is to be understood in the same context as

¹¹⁷ Baillet, DJD 3: 217.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

4Q510 and 4Q511 both references, 6Q18 4 3 and 6Q18 6 1, can indicate the same type of evil being, the one that can attack “without warning”.

4.8 Animal references

Wild animals and animal characteristics are common traits in descriptions of evil beings from Babylonian sources.¹¹⁹ Many evil beings from Mesopotamia, like Lamaštu, are described as having animalistic features.¹²⁰ The combination of animal and human traits contributes to the idea of dread caused by these creatures. Such a mixture of traits is not natural and because of this, it is terrifying. Elsewhere we note a correlation of evil beings with some animals, mostly animals that are dangerous to humans. As evil beings lived in desolate areas,¹²¹ animals from these places could be considered evil. Expanding this idea I believe that it is possible that nocturnal animals were also associated with evil because the night was considered the most dangerous time of the day, as described in chapter 4.11.¹²²

In a long list of evil beings from 4Q510 1 5-6a beasts and animals are quoted:

5 כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים all the spirits of the destroying angels,
לילית אחים ו[] spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith,
desert howlers and []

6 והפוגעים פתע פתאום and those which fall upon men without warning

¹¹⁹ Stefan Maul et al., "Demons," *BNP* <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/demons-e309270>.

120 Ibid.

121 Ibid.

¹²² Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism*, 190.

The first issue to notice is the plurality of beings listed. From a first impression, it is possible to note that 4Q510 does not include an overarching term that comprises all types of evil beings. Such a list of evil beings is a common feature in exorcisms, and usually features at the beginning of the text.¹²³ It delimitates the scope that this particular exorcism will be effective in. The prominence of these types of lists in later magical texts and the lack of evidence from Qumran demonstrates how the phenomena of magical texts in the Scrolls cannot be understood only based on later sources. It also demonstrates the importance of looking at the particularities of texts rather than harmonizing the evidence.

Listing can be understood as part of a process that humans use to understand the world around them.¹²⁴ Making a list is way to organize, qualify and classify things. Lists are not confined to one type of text, and can be found in administrative documents or literary pieces.¹²⁵ A list in a text that was likely performed had more significance in itself than might appear at first glance.¹²⁶ In the case of the list from 4Q510 what is the logic applied to it? It is not possible to know how the people who heard this list being read out or sung¹²⁷ understood it, but it is possible that it was part of a ritualized performance. Ritualization aimed to draw attention is used in listings in 4QBerakhot^a (4Q286), which does not necessarily imply a ritual, but attests to ritualized behaviour, according to Jokiranta.¹²⁸ The author believes that listing could be used as a relief for situations of insecurity and anxiety,

¹²³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 53–63.

¹²⁴ Jutta Jokiranta, “Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot (4Q286),” in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 438–58, 441–42.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 441.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 458.

¹²⁷ It is very likely that 4Q510 was performed with music, as discussed in chapter 6.2 and 7.3.

¹²⁸ Jokiranta, “Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot (4Q286),” 454–55.

moments were the human brain tends to turn to ritualized activities.¹²⁹ The types of beings listed in 4Q510 were likely portrayed in this format for many reasons that are not mutually exclusive. The listing could be a way of structuring the evil beings' chaotic realm, it could be a form of encompassing as many types as possible in order to offer the broadest possible protection, and it could be a ritualized way of referring to and controlling such beings.

A similar list is reconstructed based on this one in 4Q511 10 (Angel 11), but for this thesis I choose not to reconstruct it and treat 4Q510 and 4Q511 as separated texts.¹³⁰ Pajunen argues that it is possible that 11Q11 2:3¹³¹ was originally a similar list. The passage runs as follows:

3]והשדים[חות[] []*hwt*, []and the demons, [

4 מה [ש]דים וְשׁ [ה] אלה [] [] These are [the de]mons. And š[]mh

The repetition of the term “demons” is an indication that this passage was a list of evil beings, maybe constituting a classification of different types. The term *šd* is not frequent in the magical texts related to evil beings, and I will come back to it in the next subsection below.

The last but one group of beings in the list are אַחִים, a non-defined wild beast. Most scholars take this as a reference to a howling animal, also mentioned in Isa 13:21. Several translations

¹²⁹ Ibid., 455.

¹³⁰ For a more complete explanation on why this is not reconstructed please refer to chapter 3.4.

¹³¹ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 139.

are possible: owls, wolves, jackals.¹³² All share the trait of inhabiting a hostile environment, howling and constituting a danger to humans.

Serpents are another animal dangerous to humans and related to evil, in later sources. In Early Judaism, snakes were also used as good symbols, representing power, glory, wisdom and immortality. Serpents appeared on coins of Herod the Great (40-4 BCE), Herod Archelaus (4 BCE-6 CE) and Valerius Gratus (15-26 CE), likely under Roman influence.¹³³ In the Apocryphal Psalms, 11Q11 1 5, a very fragmentary part of the scroll, the word תַּנִּין is preserved:

4	בְּיְהוָה [] in/with/against THE LORD []
5	תַּנִּין [] serpent []
6	תַּלְיָן [] t lan[d]
7	מִשְׁבֵּי [] mšb
8	אֵת כִּי [] 't k[
9	הַזֹּאת [] this []
10	אֵת הַשֹּׁד [] 't demon []

The meaning of the word תַּנִּין is usually derived from the context, and it can be translated as serpent (e.g. Ex 7:9; Dt 32:33; Isa 27:01; Ps 91:13), sea monster (e.g. Gen 1:21; Job 7:12 Isa 51:9), crocodile (e.g. Ezek 29:3-6) or dragon (Jer. 51:34),¹³⁴ highlighting the reptilian form of

¹³² Baillet, DJD 3: 217.

¹³³ James H. Charlesworth, "Serpent," *EDEJ*: 1220.

¹³⁴ David J. A. Clines, "תַּנִּין," *DCH* 8: 654–55.

tannîn. It is possibly a reference to an evil being, especially considering how serpent imagery was used in other Second Temple texts in a negative way, e.g. CD 8:10, 19:15, 22:23; 1QH^a 11:17; see also Isa 30:6, 59:5. Furthermore 11Q11 1 5 is the only example in the DSS where the word *tannîn* is not used with reference to Deut 32:33.¹³⁵ The preservation of only this word makes it difficult to determine the meaning of it in 11Q11. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that in line 10, the word “demon” is preserved. The combination of these two words here and in the psalms that follow in the same manuscript make it very likely that this column was also part of a psalm with an exorcistic purpose.

Later in 11Q11 more references to animals are preserved, but their connection to evil beings is less clear.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>11]פן] ישאוג]ך כפי]ם על כפי]ם 12 על כפי]ם</p> | <p>to gua[rd you on] your [paths.] [¹²They shall lift] you upon their palms, lest[you strike your] foot [against a st]one. ¹³</p> |
| <p>12 פתן]ואפעה תד]רוך תרמו]ס כפיר] ותנין</p> | <p>[Upon] cobra [and viper shall you s]tep, you shall tramp[le lion] and dragon. ¹⁴ You have [lo]ved [THE LORD] and [he will rescue you]</p> |

In sum, animal references can be connected to evil beings, particularly as a way to depict non-human characteristics, mostly designed to create fear. In addition, animal features can be associated with evil beings, as a way to describe their physical appearance.

¹³⁵ Max Rogland, “תנין,” *ThWQ* 3: 1144-45.

With the exception of 11Q11 5 evil beings are usually not physically described in the Scrolls,.

The context for the description in 11Q11 5 is possibly the exorcism of a particular evil being.

The passage reads as follows:

6 מי אתה [] אדם ומזרע הקד[ושי]ם פניך פני
the ho[ly one]s? Your face is a face of
7 וקרנֶיךָ קרני חל[ו]ם חושך אתה ולוא אור... [] w and your horns are horns of
i[ll]usion, you are darkness and not light,
8 [עו]ל ולוא צדקה [] שׁר הַצָּבָה יהוה [] ד [] prince of
the host THE LORD [] k

Unfortunately, the description of the being's face is not preserved. Considering the prominence of animal features in descriptions of other evil beings from other Near Eastern sources, it is probable that the description of the face was also based on some animal. Animal features are one way to describe evil beings, often used to make them more frightening and less natural, since they are neither human nor animals.¹³⁶

Another feature are the horns, קרנים. The symbology of the word *qeren* (horn) is connected to power, fertility, respect and abundance.¹³⁷ In Dan 7:3-21; 8:3-22 two of the visions included horned animals, in both cases representing the desire for power and power struggles of the Persian and Medes kings. Horns can also be used in a military context, like on 1QM 1:4, in the context of God's final war against his enemies to exterminate them and cut off their horn. In 4Q381 46 a horn is given to the speaker as a positive sign and in 11. 6-7

¹³⁶ Maul et al., "Demons." *BNP*.

¹³⁷ Ulrich Dahmen, “קרן,” *ThWQ* 3: 567–70; B. Kedar-Kopfstein, “קרן,” *TDOT* 13: 168–69.

those who fear the LORD have horns, again demonstrating how having horns could be seen as a positive sign.

The evil being in 11Q11 5:7 has horns as a representation of power, but they are specific horns, קרני חל[ו]ם “horns of illu[si]on”. חלום (dream) is a vehicle of divine revelation, but also connected to the realm of the unseen.¹³⁸ In the HB and in the DSS “dream” can be used as a positive simile representing the idea the unreal (Ps 126:1) and as a negative one representing worthlessness and unreality, as in Job 20:8; Isa. 29:7; Ps. 73:20.¹³⁹ In the example of 11Q11 it is likely used as a simile in a negative sense. In that way the “horns”, which are likely a representation of the power of the evil being, are ineffectual or worthless, and a mere illusion. The physical characteristics of the being are also a way to represent its false power. In the same verse it is furthermore described as “darkness and not light”, reminiscent of the danger associated with darkness, as well as the symbolic use of it as representation of evil and as a negative characteristic. Whatever its precise meaning the being’s nature is defined by opposing pairs: “darkness and not light” (5:7), “injustice and not justice” (5:8) and by a characterization of a type of horns, “and your horns are horns of d[r]eam” (5:7).

Animals can represent danger, the unknown and the monstrous, but the association of evil beings with them is not very common in HB. This approach largely continues in other texts from the Second Temple period, which demonstrates that although there was influence from Babylonian sources, evil beings were not primarily conceived of as animals but instead

¹³⁸ Lorenzo DiTommaso, “חלום,” *ThWQ* 1: 988-93.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 989–90.

the focus was on their ability to cause fear and to lead people astray. The exceptions attested in 4Q510 and 11Q11 demonstrate how although not prominent, the association with animals were known by the authors of these two texts and likely more widely. In 4Q510 the mention of howling animals is likely related to Isa 13:21, and with the notion of wild animals as dangerous and evil. In 11Q11 the perspective seems slightly different, despite the mention of animals, references to animalistic features are also made.

Another interesting aspect is the physical description of evil beings that is again not frequent, but will become more developed in later periods. Physically describing evil beings in connection with animalistic features was likely a way to demonstrate the powerful and terrible nature of the being, rather than a description of a vision or something similar. The use in 11Q11 of words such “light” and “darkness” to describe the appearance of a being reinforces the idea that the description was intended to contribute to the sense of an atmosphere of fear rather than describing an image or an appearance.

4.9 Demons

The use of the term *šd* (demon)¹⁴⁰ is not frequent in the Scrolls. In a list of evil beings from 4Q510 1 5-6 we read the words *שד אים*, which is very likely a misspelling for *שדים*,

“demons”:¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ David J. A. Clines, “שד,” *DCH* 8: 266.

¹⁴¹ *שד אים* can be a different way to write *שדים*, with the addition of an aleph mater. The use of an aleph mater, before a consonantal waw or yodh, is attested in some scrolls, e.g. 1QIsa^a at Isa 34:6. Eric D. Reymond, *Qumran Hebrew: An Overview of Orthography, Phonology, and Morphology* (Atlanta: SBL, 2014), 43–47. According to Baillet, DJD 7: 216, the addition of the aleph is the “graphie qumrânienne”, and although it is not possible to confirm or deny if 4Q510 was produced in Qumran, it is important to remember how diverse the Scrolls are and that the aleph mater is not exclusive to Qumran. The separation of the word could be a device to intensify its meaning.

כול רוחי מלאכי חבל ורוחות ממזרים שד אים all the spirits of the destroying angels,
 לילית אחים ו[] spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith,
 desert howlers and []

The term *šdym* occurs also in Deut 32:17 and Ps 106:37. The probable origin of the word *šd* is a benevolent Assyrian entity, represented by a winged bull's body and a human head.¹⁴² Baillet conjectures that here the spelling seems to mark the terrifying nature of demons, the root meaning, "to be afraid".¹⁴³ If this hypothesis is correct, it is not a misspelling, but an effort to make the creature more terrible.

The word *šd* appears again, this time again in the plural, at 11Q11 2:3 and is probably repeated¹⁴⁴ in column 2:4.

3 [] חות[] והשדים [] hwt, [] and the demons, []

4 [] אלה [הש]דים ו[] מה [] These are [the de]mons. And š/ś[] *mh*

Many scholars interpret this passage as a list of evil beings, similar to the list in 4Q510 1:5-6.¹⁴⁵ Such a list of evil beings is a common feature in later exorcisms, and usually occurs at the beginning of the text.¹⁴⁶ As noted above naming the evil being is important since it is part of the process of gaining power over it. Many books of magic from late antiquity,

¹⁴² Baillet, DJD 7: 217.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ The reconstruction is not certain, but it is followed by most scholars.

¹⁴⁵ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 139.

¹⁴⁶ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 53–63.

particularly the ones currently classified as recipe books,¹⁴⁷ have the name of the demon¹⁴⁸ at the beginning of the incantation. Another possibility found in later incantations formulas is to leave a blank space to insert the name of the demon, creating a personalized charm or exorcism and instructions of how to perform the ritual and the words that should be written/performed.¹⁴⁹ In the case of 11Q11 the manuscript does not seem to be a formula book that could be personalized due to the lack of blank spaces following key words, which is common in formulaic magic. This conclusion is not proven in face of the highly fragmentary evidence.

In sum, שדאים is a term which does not specify any characteristic of the evil being represented, but certainly refers to evil creatures. Šd is likely a different type of being from the other terms used to refer to evil beings, distinctive enough to figure in a list in 4Q510 1 5-6 together with others. Based on the presence of šd in this list scholars have argued for a similar list in 11Q11 2:3-4. The possible repetition of šd in line 4 makes it less likely that the reference in 11Q11 is part of a list.

¹⁴⁷ A magical recipe book is a collection of texts that can be classified as magical and is intended to be used by a magician in a variety of situations. These texts are often structured with the option to add the name of the client/subject of the magic when the text is copied.

¹⁴⁸ I am using the term demon here because I am referring to a concept used in late antiquity, when the word demon was more commonly used to designate evil beings in general.

¹⁴⁹ A possible connection between 11Q11 and an exorcistic formula found at the Cairo Genizah is explored by Gideon Bohak, "From Qumran to Cairo: the Lives and Times of a Jewish Exorcistic Formula," in *Ritual Healing: Magic, Ritual and Medieval Therapy from Antiquity until the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ildikó Csepregi and Charles Burnett, Micrologus' Library 48 (Firenze: Sismel, 2012), 31–52.

Chapter 4

4.10 Diseases

Evil beings are responsible for causing diseases and other misfortunes in many examples from antiquity. In the DSS, 4Q560 is the clearest case of diseases attributed to the influence of evil beings. 4Q560 is a very complex text with contested translations. In 1i 2 we read:

[] הילדת{א} <ה> מרדות ילדן פקר באיש ש]

childbearers, an evil visitant s

The first word of the line is not entirely preserved. Puech identifies the remains of a *lamed* and reads לילדתה a *status constructus* from the root ילד (to bear, give birth) plus a suffix feminine singular.¹⁵⁰ Penney and Wise¹⁵¹ by contrast, read the remains before *yod* as a *mem* and take the word to be a pael participle feminine singular *status emphaticus* and translate “midwife”. The idea of an evil midwife that can harm mother and child is not completely out of place. Penney and Wise refer to Akkadian texts where this is attested.¹⁵² I translated the term as a participle fem. singular peal meaning parturient referring to a woman in labour who is represented as the one who is in danger from attacks of evil beings. The following “the punishment of childbearers” supports the idea that the one giving birth is susceptible to attacks.

The expression מרדות ילדן can refer both to a particular misfortune brought upon the parturient by an evil being or to a particular type of evil being “the punishment of childbearers”. The moment of birth was seen as a mysterious event in life in many different

¹⁵⁰ Puech, DJD 37: 297.

¹⁵¹ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 634–35.

¹⁵² Ibid., 635; Edwin M. Yamauchi, “Magic or Miracle? Diseases, Demons and Exorcisms,” in *Gospel Perspectives, Volume 6: The Miracles of Jesus*, ed. David Wenham and Dr Craig L. Blomberg (Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2003), 89–183, 156–57.

cultures,¹⁵³ and the pain associated with birth is often linked to a type of punishment. I believe that the second option is more likely and the expression is a description of a role rather than the name of a being. The line continues with another reference to an evil being. **פִּקְר בְּאִישׁ** is translated by Cook¹⁵⁴ as “an evil madness”. Puech¹⁵⁵ believes it should be translated as something like “a pernicious disrespect” or as “causes of an outbreak of evil”, depending on how the grammatical classification of the words is understood. Those are possible translations, but considering other Aramaic magical texts and the roots of the words, Penney and Wise argued that the root of **פִּקְר** can also have a negative meaning such as “to be visited with punishment”.¹⁵⁶

It is important not to discard the magical use of the term, which can be a reference to an evil being, “an evil visitant”. The root (**פִּיקְדִין**) is attested in a list of evil beings in a magical formula, and it is usually translated as “pledges”.¹⁵⁷ Penney and Wise further note that the combination *pqd* is also attested in the Mandaic *paqda*, meaning a type of demon, an incubus. A similar word, *piqdia* is also a kind of demon, a demon visitant.¹⁵⁸ Their case is convincing and suggests that this passage refers to an evil being visiting a woman during childbirth. The reference to this in 4Q560 indicates that the belief that childbirth was a

¹⁵³ Much of the mysterious aspects associated with childbirth likely came from the fact that most of the written evidence we have for the past was produced by men, which were mostly not involved, and many times not allowed to be present, at the moment of birth.

¹⁵⁴ Edward M. Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 193.

¹⁵⁵ Puech, DJD 37: 297.

¹⁵⁶ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 636.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 635–36.

¹⁵⁸ Ethel S. Drower and Rudolf Macuch. “Pqd”, in *A Mandaic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 637.

vulnerable moment is now also attested in the Second Temple Jewish literature from Qumran.

Still in 4Q560 1i 4 we find a list of symptoms but no clear references to a sufferer:

[רָא עֹאנָן וּפְשַׁע אִשָּׁא וְעִרְיָה וְאִשְׁתִּי לִבָּב
chill and fire of heart

According to Penney and Wise the words אִשָּׁא וְעִרְיָה (fever and chills) are commonly paired together in later incantations.¹⁵⁹ In Akkadian texts, equivalent words are also used in a similar way. Naveh¹⁶⁰ points out that the combination is the most common disease quoted in Palestinian amulets of the fifth-seventh centuries CE. These later examples demonstrate how diseases were considered magical and treated with magical actions. Naveh argues that the symptoms describe malaria/ague, a disease that causes high fever at particular moments of the day. In the amulets from the fifth-seventh centuries CE Lamaštu is identified as the evil being responsible for fevers in general, including the type with chills. Puech¹⁶¹ also highlights the use of the expression in amulets and magic bowls. The example of 4Q560 demonstrates that the idea of a disease that causes fever and chill, likely malaria, was caused by evil forces and should be treated with magic was known already in the Second Temple Judaism.

The figure of Lamaštu is also associated with Lilith in the middle Babylonian period, and this type of being is responsible for endangering babies, breastfeeding poison to infants while

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 640–41; Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1985), 47.

¹⁶⁰ Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” 257–58.

¹⁶¹ Puech, DJD 37: 298.

disguised as a wet nurse.¹⁶² This can add another layer of complexity to 4Q560, with Lamaštu connected to both malaria/ague and with the idea of danger associated in some form with childbirth from line 1.

Still in the same text, we find a pair of entities that are likely connected to diseases in 4Q560 1i 3:

[עלל בבשרא לחלחיא דכרא וחלחלית נקבתא] enter into the flesh, the male Wasting and
the female Wasting

The being described at the beginning of line 3 is actively entering the flesh. This ability is generally understood as a disease related to an evil being, capable of affecting the body of humans. However, Penney and Wise point out that the word used for body in later Jewish Palestinian Aramaic is usually פגרא, and that this is the term for body in incantations to.¹⁶³

The word בשרא is used for flesh in the sense of meat, as opposed to drink. The authors believe that the reference to “enter into the flesh” might be a reference to the nature of the affliction, which is likely the same as the one that causes “fever and chill” preserved in the following line.

Cook¹⁶⁴ proposes a translation based on the root חול (palpel) “to cause to shake repeatedly”.

The pair would then be read as “to make the male shake” and “the trembling of the

¹⁶² Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 635. For more on Lilith in the magical texts related to evil being please refer to chapter 4.3.1.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 637.

¹⁶⁴ Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 78.

female”.¹⁶⁵ This hypothesis was also proposed by Naveh¹⁶⁶ who highlights that the same root is attested in Ps 97:4, 114:7.

Naveh believes that this account refers to a disease, such as ague/malaria. The association between malaria and evil beings is attested in later Aramaic magical formulae.¹⁶⁷ The disease provokes high fever at certain times of the day, which can also make the body shake.

Puech translates it as “a/the male poison” and “a/the female poison”, a possibility also noted by Naveh and Cook.¹⁶⁸ Poisons can enter the flesh and be harmful, so a category of evil beings described and named as “poison” is possible.

Penney and Wise¹⁶⁹ suggest that the terminology should be read as referring to particular types of demons, “the male wasting demon” and “the female wasting demon”. Beyer, by contrast, translates לחליא דרא “das männliche Glied” (the male member)¹⁷⁰ and וחלחלית נקבתא as “die Scheide des Weiblichen” (the female vagina).¹⁷¹

In sum, we note that the readings of Penney and Wise, Naveh, Puech and Cook all share the idea of a dangerous type of evil being that can penetrate the flesh. We saw, further, that the word בשר (flesh) does not refer to the human body in later periods, but rather to animals that are used as food. Considering that the evil beings are entering or penetrating the “flesh” in the sense of meat, the “male Wasting” and the “female Wasting” could be a type of evil

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 84.

¹⁶⁶ Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” 259.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 257–58.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 259; Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 85.

¹⁶⁹ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 632.

¹⁷⁰ Klaus. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Bd 2* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 168.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

being that spoils food. What is certain is that the language reflects the idea of an evil being that can penetrate, or maybe possess the flesh and thus cause damage.

Referring to evil beings as a male/female pair was a common feature in later magical texts.¹⁷² Penney and Wise affirm that the gendered language was “probably intended to allow no loopholes for wily demons”.¹⁷³ Variations of the use of male/female pairs are also used to refer to the recipient of the protection.¹⁷⁴

Other than the example above, 4Q560 preserves a second one, 4Q560 1 5:

ה בשנא פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא מחתורי
[h] during sleep, O male Shrine-spirit and
female Shrine-spirit, O ones who breach

In a similar style to line 3 the text of this line presents problems for the translator. The first word of 4Q560 1 5 may also have a temporal reference. The reference to sleeping denotes night time, a period associated with magic in many ancient texts.¹⁷⁵ Sleeping and dreaming are channels of communication with the gods in Dan 1:17 and can also be part of the realm of influence of evil beings.¹⁷⁶ Their influence during the night time is combated with amulets and incantations placed in the bedroom.¹⁷⁷ Night animals such as owls and bats are also connected to evil forces.¹⁷⁸

However, the word בשנא can also be understood in a different way from a temporal specification. For Naveh¹⁷⁹ it should be translated as “tooth”, in combination with the

¹⁷² Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 639.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 642–43.

¹⁷⁶ 11Q11 5 7 preserves another reference to dreams being associated with evil beings.

¹⁷⁷ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 642–43.

¹⁷⁸ Erica Reiner, “Plague Amulets and House Blessings,” *JNES* 19.2 (1960): 148–55, 150.

¹⁷⁹ Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” 257, 260.

reference of “entering the flesh” in line 3. The evil being described and the incantation could be a form of protection against toothache. Considering the danger encapsulated in the notion of night time and the more likely connection to meat than flesh in 4Q560 1i 3 I believe that 4Q560 1i 5 is more likely referring to a danger that can attack people during the night than a recipe for protection against toothache.

Since it is a pair (פרכ דכר ופכית נקבתא) I believe that both words should be understood together. According to most scholars,¹⁸⁰ the word ופכית does not correspond to any known word, but it is often translated as “crusher”.¹⁸¹ The translation I adopted is related to terms referring to foreigner, concepts to represent negative aspects or evil beings in magical texts, following Penney and Wise. For them פרכ should be understood as a gentilic noun which they emend to a form in the determined state, a term connected to the Mandaic *prikia* (pagan shrines and their spirits, altar-demons).¹⁸² Considering this they suggest to emend it to פרכ <יא> and ופ <ר> בית <א> and read the passage as “O male Shrine-spirit and female Shrine-spirit”.

Penney and Wise also note that the use of foreign terms to represent negative entities/aspects is common in magical texts and could be what is happening here.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Puech, DJD 37: 299; Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 643; Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” 260.

¹⁸¹ Cook, *Dictionary of Qumran Aramaic*, 194; Puech, DJD 37: 299; Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,” 260.

¹⁸² Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 643.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 644.

On either translation (crusher and shrine spirit) we are dealing with a pair of beings that are potentially harmful. They are being called upon, which can be a feature common in exorcisms, where the evil spirit is named in order to curtail their influence.

The line continues with the one who “breaches”. This is likely a reference to a being capable of penetrating physical locations, but it could also be a reference to a body. Considering that in line 3 we have the reference to “enter into the flesh” it is possible that the text was addressing circumstances that involve a being that could breach places and penetrate the flesh (likely meat).

Another possible practical meaning for the text is protection against burglary with a wealth of sources noted by Penney and Wise.¹⁸⁴ Amulets for the protection of houses and possessions, as well as incantations with the same purpose¹⁸⁵ are abundant from the same period. It is clear that evil beings were thought to be able to affect the touchable world and practical matters, as well as operate on a spiritual level. Penney and Wise also believe that this idea can be connected to “ancient thought [that] all evils, even violation of mores, could ultimately be traced back to demons, who used human agents to work their mischief”.¹⁸⁶

Considering the other examples from the Scrolls where it is not clear whether beings are human or otherworldly (e.g. 1QM 1:16; 10:12 and 12:1-7; 4Q511 2i 8-10 (Angel 1 8-10)) I believe that in contrast to this, it is not a case of “humans being agents of demons”, but rather that humans and evil beings are porous concepts. The human who breaks into a

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 646.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 646, n.91.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 646.

house is not necessarily possessed or under the influence of an evil being, but rather is an evil being himself.

The specification of the gender of the evil beings in two examples is more than a description of a characteristic associated with the creatures. It is a strong indication that 4Q560 is a magical text¹⁸⁷ which displays connections to later incantation formulae. The formula also has magical importance, in the sense that it allows the text to encompass more types of evil beings and, therefore, offer a wider range of protection.

Another text that refers to diseases as connected to evil beings, but less clearly, is 11Q11.

García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude mentions that the partially reconstructed]פֹּאֵל שְׁלֹמ[in 11Q11 5:3 could be translated as “Raphael has healed”. In this case, we would have here a strong indication that the psalm was a song to cure an illness caused by spirits.¹⁸⁸ I am not sure of the reconstruction of Raphael in this case since only the alef and the lamed are clearly preserved.¹⁸⁹ Also in 11Q11 6:3-14 a version of Psalm 91 is preserved and states in 11Q11 6:5:

5 [כִּי הֵ] וְאֵה יְצִילְךָ מִ[פַּח יְקוֹן] שֶׁ מְדַבֵּר הוֹנוֹת [For h]e will save you from [the net of the
fow]ler, from the calam[itous] pestilence.
ב[אֲבֵרְתוֹ יִסְדָּךְ] לְךָ [[With] his feathers he will cover[you]

דָּבָר is a word used to describe a fatal pestilence that can kill humans and animals, though the precise disease it refers is not known.¹⁹⁰ The term is not used in a secular meaning in the

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 639.

¹⁸⁸ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 200. This view is also followed by Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms,” 212.

¹⁸⁹ Raphael is also the angel in Tobit. García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, DJD 23: 200.

¹⁹⁰ Mayer, “דָּבָר,” *TDOT* 3: 126.

Hebrew Bible but always refers to a punishment sent by God to punish the disobedient.¹⁹¹ In Psalm 91, it is used in combination with הוֹוֹת, a term connected to men who are rebelling against God, and to the idea of an evil act, which leads to destruction.¹⁹² It can also represent ruin, as in Prov. 19:13. In the passage from Ps 91, it is usually translated as “calamitous pestilence” or “ruin-bringing pestilence”. From the context it is possible to notice that the speaker gains protection by following God. It is also possible that מדבר הוֹוֹת refers here to some type of danger outside of God and not understand דבר as a God given pestilence. It is not possible to pinpoint the specific disease, but it is likely that we have here a reference to a particular condition that was with time extended to be understood as a more generic pestilence.

Psalm 91 continues:

7]מִפֶּחַד לַיְלָה מִחֶץ יַעֲוֶף יוֹמָם 6 מִקֵּטֶב יִשׁוּד] the dread of night or the arrow that flies
by day, ⁶ the plague that rages at [no]on or
צ[הָרִים מְדַבֵּר] בָּא[פֶּל the pestilence that is [in dark]ness
8 יִהְיֶה 7 יָפְ[וֹ]ל מִצֵּדָד אֵלָי וְ[בָבָה מִי]מִינֶךָ proceeds. ⁷ A thousand will f[a]ll at your
side, and t[en thousand at] your [ri]ght;
אֵל[יךָ] לֹא יִגַע [y]ou it shall [no]t strike.

Line 7 includes a wealth of expressions that can be connected to diseases. The first evil is the “dread of the night”. Fabry argues that this is a reference to a specific “demon”,¹⁹³ with a

191 Ibid.

¹⁹² Erlandsson, “הוה,” *TDOT* 3: 358.

¹⁹³ Fabry, *TDOT* 7: 537–38.

similar role to the angel in Ex 12:12, 29. As discussed above the night is the dangerous time per excellence. Psalm 91 appears to be referring to a specific type of danger and not simply any standard issues that might occur during the night. Possibly the “dread of the night” is a reference to some specific disease/sudden onset that exclusively attacks during the night, a condition such as night terrors.¹⁹⁴

Next, the text refers to the “arrow that flies by day”. Since the term occurs in a list with other diseases, it is likely that it also refers to a disease/plague or to some specific evil being. Considering the relation between diseases and evil beings where the latter are understood as both the cause of but also a personification of disease, the reference here can be related to both disease and evil beings at the same time. Arrows are also weapons of deities like the Mesopotamian era god of pestilence.

The list continues with the “plague that rages at noon”. The midday is a particularly dangerous period and is regarded as a dangerous time associated with evil beings in more than one passage. In Jer 15:8 the divine being sends the destroyer against the women at midday. A pestilence at midday is responsible for taking people out of the city according to Zeph 2:4, and the Shunammite’s children have headaches and die at noon (2Kgs 4:18-20). Egyptians associated this period with a culmination of a crisis that could bring famine, pestilence or war.¹⁹⁵ Another possibility is that in areas in the tropical zone, or temperate zone close to the tropical zone, such as the Middle East, midday is also the hottest moment of the day. Depending on the season the heat in the region can get to more than 50 degrees

¹⁹⁴ Joyce D. Kales et al., “Night Terrors: Clinical Characteristics and Personality Patterns,” *Archives of General Psychiatry* 37.12 (1980): 1413–17; A. Kales, C. R. Soldatos, and J. D. Kales, “Sleep Disorders: Insomnia, Sleepwalking, Night Terrors, Nightmares, and Enuresis,” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 106.4 (1987): 582–92.

¹⁹⁵ Herbert Niehr, “צהרים,” *TDOT* 12: 266.

Celsius, which can cause reactions like headaches, dizziness, and confusion in the human body. In extreme situations, this can cause death. Considering how diseases were associated with evil beings, the effects of the midday heat could also be linked to the action of evil beings.¹⁹⁶

The last reference to a period of the day is the “pestilence that proceeds in the darkness”. It is not clear what this period relates to, but darkness has a similar meaning to night which is a dangerous time. The mention of darkness can be interpreted as a metaphor.

If each of the periods of the day has a specific evil force that can attack a person, then time is a key feature for understanding evil beings in Psalm 91 and consequently in 11Q11.

Another characteristic that emerges is that there are different types of evil beings which are classified according to their way of operation.

Evil beings as the agents of diseases are frequently attested in later Aramaic incantations and in earlier Babylonian sources. It is clear from the examples in 4Q560 and 11Q11 that diseases were understood as generated by evil beings also in the Judaism from the Second Temple period. In a world where evil beings are constant threats to everyday life, exorcisms and apotropaic formulas were considered fundamental for protection.

4.11 Creative Evil Forces

Many scholars¹⁹⁷ argue that the dominant account of the origin of evil beings represented in the DSS is the Watchers tradition. As discussed in chapter 5.5 the Watchers tradition is

¹⁹⁶ Nannette M. Lugo-Amador, Todd Rothenhaus, and Peter Moyer, “Heat-Related Illness,” *Emergency Medicine Clinics of North America* 22.2 (2004): 315–27; Massimo Stafoggia et al., “Vulnerability to Heat-Related Mortality: A Multicity, Population-Based, Case-Crossover Analysis,” *Epidemiology* 17.3 (2006), http://journals.lww.com/epidem/Fulltext/2006/05000/Vulnerability_to_Heat_Related_Mortality__A.18.aspx.

¹⁹⁷ See, e.g. Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 337; Ida Fröhlich, “Giants and Demons,” in *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences*, ed. Matthew J. Goff,

indeed an important characteristic in many passages. However, other aspects should be considered when analysing the references to evil beings in the Scrolls and in Second Temple Judaism more widely. The examples from 11Q11 and 4Q560 already demonstrate how many references to evil beings are likely drawn from Babylonian traditions.

A characteristic associated with evil in the Songs of the Maskil is an evil creative force, as we find in 4Q511 37 (Angel 4), which is likely part of an eschatological scenario, and reads as follows:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| 2 |] ִּוּ ִּוּ בְּמָקוֹם] | in the place |
| 3 |] יִדְעוּ עֲוֹנוֹתָם וְתִחַל הָאָרֶץ | their foundations and the earth will
tremble |
| 4 |] יִרְעוּ כֹּל מַחְשְׁבֶיהָ וְכוּלָּהּ | all its/hers designs are evil and al[|
| 5 |] יִבְהֹלוּ וַיִּחַפּוּ זֶו | they shall be terrified and hurry |
| 6 |] הֵּ תְהוֹם |]Deep |

Line 4 makes it clear that the plans of an evil agent, feminine or undefined, are evil. On a semantic level the root חשב can refer to a plan in the sense of rational calculation, often in a negative sense (e.g. Gen 38:15; Ps 35:4)¹⁹⁸ or refer to planning made by humans and rarely connected to God (e.g. Prov 15:22; Ps 33:10).¹⁹⁹ It is likely, therefore, that the evil being referred to here is human. As such, her/its plans or designs are clearly evil. This is being

Loren T. Stuckenbruck, and Enrico Morano, WUNT 360 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 97–114; Giovanni Ibba, “Annotazioni Su Alcuni Temi Enochici a Qumran,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Anthony Hilhorst, Émile Puech, and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 307–24, 311.

¹⁹⁸ Seybold, “חשב,” *TDOT* 5: 231.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 238.

stated just after the affirmation that the “earth will tremble”, which is possibly an eschatological moment. It seems conceivable, based on the analysis of the term חשב that at this specific moment the nature of the evil plans will be clear and those who were planning will be “terrified and hurry”, as stated in the next line.

It is clear that the evil being, likely human, is capable of planning. To plan something is also to create something, thus the evil being has creative power. This adds another dimension to our knowledge of evil beings, who are not perceived only as tools to punish, but are likely capable of creating forms to lure other humans from the correct path and lead them astray.

4.12 Single-minded Devotion to Darkness

References to darkness are often related to evil things. In 6Q18 2 4 only two words are preserved, ח[ושך תשוקתו]ו. The second preserved word in the line, תשוקה, is a rare word, usually translated as desire, inclination. Baillet²⁰⁰ follows this translation and points out that the word can be found in Gen 3:16, 4:7 and Cant 7:11. It designates bad human instincts according to 1QS 11:22. In this sense, “bad instincts” would make someone turn to darkness, as in 1QM 13:12 and 15:10. Gordon (DSSEL) also follows the idea of desire in his translation of the word. With this translation, the passage appears to be a reference to a group of evil beings with “dark desires”. It could also be a reference to an internal struggle rather than a separate evil being. Other noteworthy preserved words from the same fragment are “joy” (2 6), “praises” (2 8), “eternal” (2 2 and possibly 2 8). However, the translation of תשוקה needs to be further investigated.

²⁰⁰ Baillet, DJD 3: 133–34.

This translation of תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ²⁰¹ was a consensus among modern scholars, but a recent article by Macintosh²⁰¹ questions whether desire, especially sexual desire, captures the meaning of the term. He notes that this translation was not the preferred one in antiquity and, although desire looks like a good option in the translation of Gen 3:16²⁰² and Cant 7:11,²⁰³ it does not fit well in Gen 4:7.²⁰⁴ When extrapolating to the DSS²⁰⁵ the meaning of “desire, longing, etc.” fits less well in the contexts where the term occurs. Considering this and comparing it to the ancient translations of the Hebrew Bible, the author suggests that the correct translation is “concern, preoccupation, (single-minded) devotion, focus”.²⁰⁶

Applying Macintosh’s insights to 6Q18 is difficult. Nevertheless, I believe that following Macintosh’s understanding of תְּשׁוּקָה results in a more powerful translation for the line.

Instead of “darkness of ou[r] desire”, 6Q18 2 4 can be translated as “darkness of ou[r] (single minded) devotion”. In that way darkness is not related to a desire, which could be interpreted as a sexual desire, but is connected to an absolute devotion. The use of first person plural suffix, “ou[r] (single minded) devotion”, putting the affirmation into the mouth of the group speaking, is still puzzling. The translation leaves me with more questions than answers. Is it possible that it is part of a recognition of guilty ways, perhaps referring to the speakers past? It could also refer to misguided individuals who turned to darkness.

Alternatively, it could be a reference to evil beings such as a quotation of their intentions?

²⁰¹ Andrew A. Macintosh, “The Meaning of Hebrew תְּשׁוּקָה,” *JSS* 61.2 (2016): 365–87.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 368.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 366.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 371.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 375–82.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 385.

4.13 Miscellaneous references

In many instances, it is hard to pinpoint if a reference is to a human or to an otherworldly agent (and as debated before, in many cases this division is not useful since it does not reflect what we have in the sources). Some of the clearly active agents are unclear due to the fragmentary state of the text. Many examples are unique and cannot be grouped with other references. In what follows, I will draw attention to the active agents that cannot be grouped into any other categories, under the “miscellaneous” classification.

In 8QHymn (8Q5) another group of beings that is not clearly portrayed are the מרדפֹּת (persecutors), see frag 2 4-6:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4 |]ה רבה למעלה מכול[] great above all[|
| 5 |]מרדפֹּת והמשפטים[] persecutors. And the judgements[|
| 6 |]וכול הרוחות לפניכה ע[]and all the spirits are facing You '[|

Baillet points out that this could be a divine attribute that is being praised. However, the feminine plural addressee makes it unlikely to be a reference to God. The root *rdp* is related to pursue and chase, and it is used often in military contexts, expressing “active pursuit of one or more persons, with hostile intent”, sometimes with the meaning of adversaries, especially in poetry (e.g. Ps.35:3,6).²⁰⁷ There are some possibilities for the meaning in 8Q5. The beings portrayed, the persecutors, can be viewed in a positive light, as the ones who

²⁰⁷ Frevel, “רדף,” *TDOT* 13: 343; 349-350.

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persecute evil, or in a negative way, as the ones who chase/pursue good beings. It is not clear whether this is a reference to an otherworldly being or a human.

The passage could be representing some type of power structure. There is no reference to a “dominion”, but it is clear that there are “persecutors” and also someone who is “great above all” in line 4, likely God. The reference to a group persecuting someone else implies an organization with some sort of power structures.

Another term that might refer to evil beings is “abomination”. It appears in 4Q511 7 2 (Angel 3 2), but it is partly reconstructed in a fragmentary context and not much can be said about it other than it is more likely to refer to an evil than a good being.

4.14 Conclusion

The above chapter has explored a series of active agents who play different roles in the group of texts analysed here. We began with a discussion of the role played by benevolent agents. When benevolent angelic beings are referred to it is at times difficult to draw a clear line separating humans and otherworldly beings. This is clear with the expression “holy ones” in 4Q511 2i 6 (Angel 1 6) where the designation connects humans and otherworldly beings, and less explicitly but possibly also in 4Q511 35 2-3 (Angel 5 2-3) and 4Q511 8 8. A similar indefinite term is “mighty strong ones” in 4Q510 1 2-3. In other cases, by contrast, the communion between angels and humans is clear, such as in 4Q511 1 8; 35 4 (Angel 5 4); 10 11 (Angel 11 11).

Some of the benevolent agents occurring in the texts analysed in this thesis are definitively humans, as is the case with the “righteous one” about whom the addressee is to say something that was not preserved in 11Q11 5:11-12. A similar reference is preserved in

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4Q444 1–4i + 5i 10, “righteous ones”. Another designation that is likely referring to humans is “the upright” in 4Q511 10 7-8 (Angel 11 7-8); 60 1 (Angel 12 1).

The term “maskil” is mentioned only twice, he is the speaker of a song in 4Q510 1 4, and songs are ascribed to him in 4Q511 2i 1-2 (Angel 1 1-2). As a powerful human, the maskil acts in those texts as a way to channel a part of God’s power in order to fight evil beings.

God also has an important role in the magical texts related to evil beings. The reference to God is written in paleo Hebrew in 6Q18 6 5 and 8 1, possibly showing a way to express reverence for it, but also as a way to infuse the text with power. Fearing God is a fundamental weapon in the fight against evil beings according to 4Q444, where the divine being is actively giving knowledge to the one who fears him. God is also mentioned by the use of the second masculine singular in 8Q5 2 6 and in 4Q511 30 1-3 (Angel 8 1-3).

Modern pop culture focuses much on personified evil beings, but they are less common in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran. Lilith, a feminine entity based on the Sumerian/Akkadian Lilitu that will be frequent in later magic, is mentioned in 4Q510 and 4Q511. Here Lilith is closer to the Sumerian/Akkadian entity than to the Lilith that will be portrayed as the chief succubus or as the “first wife of Adam” in later texts.

Belial, the most frequently mentioned individual evil character in the DSS in general, has a less prominent role in the magical texts connected to evil beings. The only entirely preserved mention of the name lacks context, and it is difficult to say much about it. The name can be reconstructed with some confidence in 11Q11 6:3 in a reference to “the sons of Belial”.

Belial is often reconstructed in 11Q11 5:5, but the preserved letters can also be interpreted as the word “night”. In the same line it is possible to reconstruct “the heavens” or “satan”.

Another possible reconstruction of Belial is found in 4Q511 103, but again no context has been preserved. The other term which can refer to a personified evil figure known from the DSS is mastema. Mastema is preserved with no context in 6Q8 9, and it is not possible to determine whether it is a reference to a being or simply the noun adversity. From our analysis of the magical texts concerning evil beings it emerges that Lilith, Mastema and Belial are not very prominent in the magical texts, which focus rather more extensively on other types of evil beings.

On the subject of types of evil beings, *ruah* is a word that can denote groups of beings. It is often in a construct pair with the second word defining which “type” of spirit the passage refers to. A reference to a benevolent spirit, that may be a way of referring to angelic beings, is the “spirit of understanding” in 4Q510 1 6. Similarly in 6Q18 5 3, 4Q511 5 3 and 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 3, holding fast to the “spirit of knowledge” is fundamental for protection against evil beings.

Evil spirits are also portrayed, such as the “spirits of the destroying angels” in 4Q510 1 5-6 from 4Q560 1ii 5-6. In 4Q511 1 6 (Angel 3 6) we learn of the “spirits of wickedness”, which are with the “destroyer”. The same “spirits of wickedness” are mentioned in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4, where they are the ones against which the statutes of God are a weapon. Still on 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 8 we learn of the “spirit of impurity”, and “spirits of dispute” (4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2). While it is not clear if they are external to the speaker or if they represent an internal struggle, the spirits clearly refer to a struggle between the forces of good and evil. Some spirits are defined as part of “its/her dominion” in 4Q511 1 3 (Angel 3 3), which is likely an indication of a malevolent type of control.

Different types of fear are also associated with the influence of evil beings. “Those who terrify” are a type of evil being in 4Q511 111 6-7 (Angel 6 6-7), 4Q511 11 4-5 and 4Q511 121 3. Fear is used together with “scattering” in 4Q511 37 5 (Angel 4 5) and in 4Q510 1 3. *Yārē* represents both the fear inspired by the divine being as a positive symptom of devotion and the physical and mental symptoms caused by an evil force. Fear is also represented by the word *paḥad*, which is preserved only on 4Q511 8 4-5, referring to the fear caused by the song on a type of evil beings. In keeping with the atmosphere of fear and insecurity generated by the magical texts related to evil beings, another group of evil beings is portrayed as “those who fall upon men without warning” from 4Q510 1 6, and “those who fall upon” from 4Q511 11 4 and possibly 6Q18 4 3.

Animalistic characteristics were used in Babylonian sources to portray the idea of evil beings as unnatural and terrifying. 4Q510 uses “desert howlers” as part of a list of evil beings, clearly associating those animals with evil. 11Q11 preserves the majority of the other examples, from the mention of “serpent” in 11Q11 1 5, to references to animals in 11Q11 6:11-12 (Psalm 91). Animal features are also used in 11Q11 5 to physically describe an evil being, possibly one of the earliest accounts of horns with reference to evil beings. Later periods will see the use of animal features and associations between animals and evil beings flourish, but in the DSS it is not yet a prominent feature.

The term *šd* (demon), that in later periods will be used to refer to any demon, is mentioned in 4Q510 1 5-6 in a list of beings. This suggests that the term was used to refer to one specific type of evil being rather than used as a generic term. The word is used again in 11Q11, but there the context is almost entirely lost though it may here be a generic reference to evil beings.

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Another characteristic associated with evil beings in later Aramaic and Babylonian sources is the ability of causing diseases. The examples from 4Q560 and 11Q11 attest that the same belief is attested already in Second Temple Judaism, but there it was not the only narrative associated with evil beings.

6Q18 2 4 includes what appears to be a description of a single minded devotion to darkness, which is a puzzling reference, likely part of a recognition of the guilty ways of a human. The lack of context for the expression makes it difficult to determine its original meaning.

After looking with more detail at the active agents in the magical texts related to evil being let us now turn to the other agents represented in the texts.

5 Other Agents

It can safely be said that the primary goal of a magical text created for protection/exorcism is to deal with an evil being that is influencing or possessing a person. Thus, humans are often not in an active role in the texts. However, in a similar way to what we found in relation to active agents, the line between a group of beings who are human or not is blurred. Just belonging to the side who is being affected does not determine those who are the object of evil influence or attack as otherworldly or human in nature. Thus, suffering with pain, exclusion or fear being inflicted on a being does not always allow us to determine whether we are dealing with humans or otherworldly beings. Different texts approach the question of who is in danger and how in different ways. In this chapter, I will turn my attention to the agents who are not active in the texts, all the others that can be victims, objects of actions or whose role is not clearly stated.

5.1 Sons of

The expression “sons of” is used to indicate an intimate relationship between a person and another person, deity, activity or character that complements the pair.¹ In the DSS the expression is also used to designate groups, its members and various levels of membership.² In the magical texts related to evil beings the expression “sons of” defines at least three different groups, “sons of light”, “sons of Belial” and “sons of injustice” as follows.

¹ Jutta Jokiranta, “בן,” *ThWQ* 1: 263–64.

² *Ibid.*, 273.

5.1.1 Light

“Sons of Light” is an expression that has often been used as a synonym for the group that kept and produced some of the Scrolls.³ The use of the term as a way to refer to the group associated with the Scrolls is strongly connected with the idea that the Treatise on the Two Spirits is a fundamental piece in understanding the theology or doctrine of the group. This view has recently been questioned, especially in light of the publication of the whole corpus from Qumran, where it is possible to notice that the Treatise is less prominent than previously thought.⁴ In the texts at issue here the sons of light are mentioned in 4Q510 1 7 describing the time frame that the prayer will be effective in. The passage reads as follows⁵:

6 והפוגעים פתע פתאום לעות רוח בינה ולהשם and those which fall upon men without

לבבם וְנֹתָם בְּקֶץ מַמְשָׁל[ת]

warning to wander (from) a spirit of

understanding and to make their heart

and their [] desolate during the time of

dominio[n of]

³ Thus Eileen Schuller recently refers to the dichotomy of light and darkness as an example of a sectarian marker. Eileen M. Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: What Have We Learned 50 Years On?* (London: S.C.M. Press, 2011), 67; Further, for example, Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*. BJS 33 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 6; Philip S. Alexander, "Predestination and Free Will in the Theology of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Divine and Human Agency in Paul and His Cultural Environment*, ed. John M. G. Barclay and Simon J. Gathercole (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2008), 27-49, 28; Steven D. Fraade, "Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miqṣat Ma'āse Ha-Torah (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses," *DSD* 10.1 (2003): 150–61 esp. 159.

⁴ Charlotte Hempel, "The Treatise on the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, LSTS (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 102-120, 103; Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995 - Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. John Kampen, Moshe J. Bernstein, and Florentino García Martínez (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 275-335, 277-78 and 290. For a recent subtle discussion of this issue see also John Joseph Collins, "Sectarian Consciousness in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Lynn R. LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 177-92. Collins is certainly right that the Treatise in its present context was clearly received by the Yahad.

⁵ 4Q510 1:6b-8

- 7 רשעה ותעודות תעניות בני אור] באשמת קצי wickedness and predetermined times of humiliations for the sons of lig[ht],
 נגועי] עוונות ולוא לכלת עולם because of the sin of the times of [those]
 struck by iniquity—not for eternal
 destruction,
- 8 vacat] פשע] ׁם לקץ תעניות פשע] m for the times of humiliation for
 transgression. vacat

The word “light” is not entirely preserved but it is very unlikely that אור belongs to a word other than אור (light),⁶ not only because the expression “sons of light” is common in other texts from the DSS (e.g. 1QM 1:9, 11, 13; 1QS 2:16, 3:13, 3:24, etc.), but also based on the amount of space in the scroll, leaving room only for one letter.

The first interesting aspect to note about this passage is the fact that “sons of light” are not an active agent in the text. Their position is of suffering the negative effects of evil beings and humiliations characteristic for the period. Nitzan argues that the clear indication that evil beings are not subjected to “eternal destruction” (4Q510 1 7) might point to the limited power of the Maskil over evil beings.⁷ The blessings are a way to keep the danger at bay for a certain period but not to banish them completely. Only God would have the real power to do so. Angel also notes that the protection that derives from 4Q510 (and 4Q511) is not eternal and does not extend to people who are not part of the covenant.⁸ The limited

⁶ David J. A. Clines, “אור,” *DCH* 1: 161–64.

⁷ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

⁸ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511),” 1.

protection offered is logical if we take into consideration that the power to effectively combat evil beings and definitively destroy them is reserved for God alone according to the DSS (see, e.g., 1QM 18; 1QS 4:18-19). Therefore, this action cannot be performed by humans, even those with special gifts. It is this wider scheme that seems to be presupposed in 4Q510 1 above. Nitzan points out that 4Q510 1 makes it clear that the song is to be used for the protection of the “sons of light”.⁹ According to her,¹⁰ the series of blessings attested in 4Q510-511 are “intended to defend the children of light from the injuries caused by spirits and demons sent by Belial who lead them astray”.¹¹ However, in 4Q510 no mention of Belial is preserved. The protection offered by 4Q510 is likely focused on the sons of the light, but it is not possible to affirm that it is against “injuries caused by spirits and demons sent by Belial”, as suggested by Nitzan.¹² The structure of 4Q510 1 follows the same pattern of blessings followed by curses as in 1QS 1:17, but in 4Q510 the pair (blessing and curse) “serve as a kind of magic weapon in the struggle of the children of light”.¹³ This would reflect an ancient belief that uttering a curse or a blessing by the right person is likely “to frighten and terr[ify]” the spirits that are causing harm. This hypothesis is convincing, considering that the aim of 4Q510 is “frighten and terrify” evil beings (4Q510 1 4), and blessings and curses would be an effective magical weapon to reach the goal of the text.

Angel also draws attention to the interpretation that the text has a communal objective,¹⁴

i.e., the protection sought is not focused on one individual, but intended for all the “sons of

⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 238.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹² *Ibid.*, 135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁴ Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511),” 1-27.

light". In 4Q510 1 7 the group is in a passive position, under the influence of the dominion of wickedness, a period that is described as "times of humiliations". As will be demonstrated in the rest of this chapter the protection focused on the sons of light appears likely for 4Q510, but the same cannot be said for the other magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran, since the expression "sons of light" occurs only in 4Q510.

5.1.2 Belial

Belial is an important figure in the Scrolls, as discussed in chapter 4.3.2. A group of beings that is closely related to him occurs in 11Q11 6:3, as follows:

[] [] the sons of Bel[ial] Selah. [Ps 91:1 Of
David. He that lives]in the shelter[of the
עליון בצל[שדי
Most High, in the shadow of] the Almighty

"Sons of Belial" is an expression that is also repeated in other texts from Qumran (e.g. 4Q174 (4QFlor) 1-2i 8; 4Q286 (4QBer^a) 7 a ii, b-d 6) suggesting that Belial was a known entity.¹⁵ In this passage, we are again in a grey area of the text, since none of the sources we have from the Scrolls make it clear whether "the sons of Belial" refers to non-humans, humans or a mixture of both. The passage above could fit in any of those categories and is probably a reminder of how most of the sources do not offer a clear-cut picture on this question.

Unfortunately, the previous lines do not preserve much in terms of the context of the reference to the "sons of Belial", but we are clearly dealing with a group of evil beings. If the psalm follows the structure of beginning with a description or naming of the being and

¹⁵ For more on Belial please refer to chapter 4.3.2.

ending with the evil being rendered powerless,¹⁶ the reference to the “sons of Belial” in 11Q11 6:3, at the end of a psalm, is probably a reference to this group being defeated.

Considering this, they would be in a passive position, being attacked or destroyed.

In the next subsection I will turn my attention to the “sons of injustice”, another group portrayed in 4Q511.

5.1.3 Injustice

Another group designated by “sons of” is found in 4Q511 1 8 (Angel 3 8):

דעות באמרוֹ וכול בני עולה לוא יתבלכלו Knowledge through his words. All the sons
of injustice will not be sustained.

The expression “sons of injustice” appears elsewhere in the Scrolls and also on 2 Sam 3:34, 7:10; Hosea 10:9; Ps 89:23, 1 Chr 17:9; Sir Hebr 16:1-3; and 1QH^a 13:11. The word עול is used as a general term to express negative action or the intent of it, and it was used to define Israelites and enemies of Israel alike.¹⁷ Again it is not clear if the reference is to a group of evil beings which is composed exclusively of humans or a mixture of humans/otherworldly beings, but it is clear that they are on the opposite side to those who follow God’s will. 4Q511 1 8 (Angel 3 8) also clearly portrays the sons of injustice in a passive position, as the ones that will not be sustained. From the above examples in 4Q510 1 7, 11Q11 6:3 and 4Q511 1 8 (Angel 3 8) it is clear that the expression “sons of” does not necessarily designate a benevolent or a malevolent group. The next section will explore a fragmentary example where the expression occurs.

¹⁶ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

¹⁷ Carol A. Newson, “עול,” *ThWQ* 3:47-53.

Chapter 5

5.1.4 Very Fragmentary Evidence

Other than the three groups above the expression “sons of” is also preserved in 8Q5 1 2, but in this case in a fragmentary context:

[] בני האיש הזה אשר הוא מבני ה־] this man, who is from the sons of h [

It is clear that the subject is human, and that he is part of a group. Considering that this is the second line of the fragment and that the first line begins with a *vacat* or the beginning of a sheet, the man in the text is likely the subject of the incantation, someone who is suffering from the action of an evil being. However, since the fragmentary context does not give any certainty, he could also be part of an evil group as the one who is causing the problem. In any case the man is in a passive position as described by the passage.

The four passages where “sons of” appear in the magical texts related to evil beings, namely 4Q510 1 7, 11Q11 6:3, 4Q511 1 8 (Angel 3 8) and 8Q5 1 2, demonstrate the variety of agents that can be defined by it. While 4Q510 1 7 refers to a known benevolent group, the “sons of light”, 11Q11 6:3 and 4Q511 1 8 (Angel 3 8) inform us of malevolent groups. The next section moves on to discuss the occurrence of Israel and the use of the term to define a group of people.

5.2 Israel

References to Israel are frequent in 4Q511 but not present in the other magical texts related to evil beings. “Israel” can represent more than one idea, from a physical reference to a place to a particular group of people. Israel is mentioned on 4Q511 2i 5-9 (Angel 1 5-9):

mentioned in 1Q33 (1QMilhamah) 3:14. The passage on 1Q33 (1QMilhamah) 3:14 divides the tribes into four camps, each with three tribes, as pointed out by Baillet.¹⁸ It is also important to notice that this is the only mention of “Yahad” and “camps” in the same text in the DSS.¹⁹

The first mention of Israel, in line 5, is too fragmentary to assert the type of role it portrays, while in the second reference, in line 7, Israel is the object of an action of God, the division into twelve camps. Israel appears one more time in 4Q511 2ii:9-10 (Angel 2 9-10), as follows:

9 יודע יוֹשֵׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל he who knows the uprightness of the
upright of Is[rael]

10 וּבִישְׂרָאֵל מִן הָאֲרָצִים הַזֵּאת and with Israel [] with []

There is a clear separation of a specific group, a group that is good and also part of Israel, which implies that not all people from Israel are righteous enough to be part of the same group. The third masculine singular subject likely refers to God, but this is not certain. The following line contains another reference to Israel, but unfortunately, the context is broken. Another mention of Israel is found in frag 76, but it is the only word preserved there and not much more can be said about it.

In 4Q511 Israel refers more frequently to a group of people and less often to a geographical location. Some of the passages do not have enough context to be analysed, but in 4Q511 2i 7 (Angel 1 7) and in 4Q511 2ii:9 (Angel 2 9) the use of the term is clearly a way to describe a particular group of people. In 4Q511 1 7 (Baillet 2i 7), Israel is being divided by God in twelve

¹⁸ Baillet, DJD 7: 222.

¹⁹ For example, CD mentions camps frequently but never Yahad (e.g. CD 7:6-8, 13:7). In some translations the phrase “Unique Teacher” (*moreh yaḥid*) from CD 20:1, 14, 32 is emended to “Teacher of the Yahad”, e.g. by E. Cook in DSSSEL.

camps, so God is the active agent and Israel is the object of the action. The second passage, 4Q511 2ii:9 (Angel 2 9), portrays a group as part of Israel, in a non-active position. The proximity of both passages is noteworthy, which could mean that they are part of the same song. Another interesting element is the reference to the “dominion of the Yahad” very close to Israel given this is the only case in the Scrolls where both terms appear together.

5.3 Assemblies and Groups

Different types of assemblies and groups are quoted in the magical texts related to evil beings. In some cases the representation of a collective of people, a congregation, is a self-identification, like in 6QpapHymn (6Q18) 14 2, where קהלנו (our congregation) is the only word preserved in the line. The word is not preserved in the other magical texts related to evil beings, but it is used in CD 7:17; 11:22; 12:6; 14:18 to represent a neutral or positive designation and in 1QM to represent a group of evildoers (1QM 15:3-3).

In the next subsections I will turn my attention to other collective designations.

5.3.1 Council

One of the words used to express the idea of a collective is סוד (council),²⁰ which is often found as part of a construct pair with the second word defining the type of group. In the DSS the word *sod* is used to define many types of groups, formed by humans or by otherworldly beings,²¹ by benevolent and malevolent individuals (e.g 1QH 2:22 “council of deceit”; 6:5 “council of violence”; etc.).²²

²⁰ David J. A. Clines, “סוד,” *DCH* 6: 125–28.

²¹ Heinz-Josef Fabry, “סוד,” *ThWQ* 2: 1073–79.

²² Heinz-Josef Fabry, “סוד,” *TDOT* 10: 177.

The term occurs in 4Q511 52, 54+55, 57+59 iii 4-5 (Angel 11 4-5), where it is explicitly stated that the council is from God and is for all who fear God:

- 4 את[הּ אלי מלך הכבֹּד] וְכִיָּא מֵאַתְכָּה מִשְׁפָּטְךָ [yo]u my God king of glory. For from with
you judgment
- 5 רִימִּיּוֹם וּמֵאַתְכָּה סֹד לְכֹל יִרְאִיכָה בְּךָ]rym and from you is the council for all
who fear you

An incomplete reference to council occurs in 4Q511 44-47 2 (Angel 9 2), here the word that follows *sod* is not preserved. The previous line mentions “the righteous”, so it is likely that the council is a council of benevolent beings. It is not possible to determine if Angel’s reconstructed column 9 (4Q511 44-47) is part of the same song or psalm as reconstructed column 11 (4Q511 52, 54+55, 57+59). The council referred to in 4Q511 44-47 2 (Angel 9 2) can be a different one from the one in 4Q511 52, 54+55, 57+59 iii 4-5 (Angel 11 4-5). In both examples the “council” can be qualified as a group of other agents, important in the text but not in a defined role.

In 4Q511 63-64ii 1(Angel 14 1) we learn of:

- הַבִּסּוּדִי [מִן עֲשֵׂי אֱלֹהִי פְדוּתִי וְדִּיּוֹסִי] the w]orks of the God of my redemption []
in the councils of

The word *sod* is in the construct state and in the plural. Although the next word has not been preserved, the phrase occurs in the same line as God. The proximity of the terms suggests that the “councils of” in 4Q511 63-64ii 1(Angel 14 1) are a benevolent group. It is also noteworthy that four lines later in 4Q511 63-64ii 5(Angel 14 5) “the men of the covenant” are mentioned together with thanksgiving.

In this subsection we looked into the uses of *sod*, which among the group of texts analysed in this thesis, is only preserved in 4Q511. In the DSS *sod* is used to portray agents that are not active and can represent both malevolent and benevolent groups, as well as represent groups of otherworldly beings (e.g. 4Q181 1:2) or humans (e.g. CD 19:35). The word is usually in a construct state, being defined by a second term. From the three examples in 4Q511, only one, 4Q511 11 4-5 (Baillet 52, 54+55, 57+59 iii 4-5), has preserved the second word of the construct pair. However, from the context of the other two examples (4Q511 63-64ii 1(Angel 14 1); 4Q511 44-47 2 (Angel 9 2)), it is likely that all three are references to benevolent groups of beings. The next subsection describes other words used to represent a group of beings in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran.

5.3.2 Nation

A collective group of beings that are certainly humans and related in some sense can be expressed by the word עם. The term 'am is related to a collective of people who descend from the same male ancestor, a clan, and expanded to encompass the idea of a multitude, a religious gathering or people and nation.²³

In 11Q11 2 7 we come across:

עמו תִּיּוֹ רְפוּאָה [] [] [] his nation [] a cure

Little of the context to “his nation” is preserved except that later in the same line רְפוּאָה

occurs. The term is used to express physical healing (e.g. Num 12:13; Deut 28:27, 35; etc.),²⁴

²³ Heinz-Josef Fabry, “עם,” *ThWQ* 3: 135–36; Lipinski, “עם,” *TDOT* 6: 169–70.

²⁴ S. Brown, “רפא,” *TDOT* 13: 597.

by God after repentance (e.g. 1QH 2:8; Ps 41:4-5).²⁵ It is possible that this line refers to the one who will be “healed” by the enactment of the psalm. If this hypothesis is correct, the “nation” is the one being healed, and consequently in a passive position. Two lines further on “Israel” can be reconstructed with some confidence. The combination of both terms in proximity, *‘am* and Israel, make it likely that the group of people in danger/who will be protected by this psalm are Israel and not all of humanity.

5.4 Wicked

Passive evil beings are often qualified by their actions, by what they are capable of. Being wicked and not fulfilling an expected function are ways of describing those beings. The following examples deal with cases where the word רשע (wickedness) is used in the magical texts related to evil beings.

In 4Q511 12 reads:

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | [ודי רשע] ה | Wickedness |
| 2 | [י תפחדו כול] | they will be made to dread |
| 3 | [באלוהים ל] | with God |

In line one there only “wickedness” is preserved and in the next line “they will be made to dread”. Dread is often something that evil beings will cause to humans, so it could be a description of the outcome of a possession or the presence of evil beings.²⁶ However, dread can also be something that will happen to the “wicked” or to evil beings. Furthermore,

²⁵ Ibid., 598–99.

²⁶ For more on dread please refer to chapter 4.6.

according to 4Q511 63iii 4a (Angel 15 4a) the wicked are condemned, but no other characteristic of the group is described.

In both examples, 4Q511 12 1 and 4Q511 63iii 4 (Angel 15 4), the “wicked” are a group of evil beings who are in a passive position, are the object of actions described. The passive role is evident on 4Q511 63iii 4 (Angel 15 4), since the wicked are the ones being condemned.

The passiveness of the “wicked” is less clear in 4Q511 12 1, where the ones “made to dread” could also be a group of benevolent beings.

In the following section, I will present another group of evil beings, the bastards.

5.5 Bastards

Bastards is a term often used to refer to the unauthorized offspring of fallen angels with the daughters of men. The story is told in Gen 6 and expanded in 1 Enoch. Enoch is one of the antediluvians according to Genesis 5:18-24. His life span is shorter than the other forefathers described, and he is said to have been taken by God. From this basic narrative the life of Enoch is portrayed in more detail in many writings in the Second Temple Jewish pseudepigraphal literature.²⁷ Coming from this tradition, the booklets that make up 1 Enoch are a group of pseudepigraphic writings attributed to the patriarch. In the Ethiopic *Apocalypse of Enoch*, also called 1 Enoch, we find an account of the story of the angels who descend to the earth to marry the daughters of men based on Gen 6:1-4.

1 Enoch is a collection of various independent booklets dealing with revelations made to the character of Enoch in heaven. The various works collected together as 1 Enoch vary in length, date of composition and subject. The dates for each composition are different. The

²⁷ John C. Reeves, “Enoch,” EDSS 1: 249.

history of the composition is also complex. The full work only survived in Ethiopic. Around a third survived in Greek (mainly the Book of the Watchers).²⁸ The first part, the “Book of Watchers” is concerned with the origin and final destruction of evil, describing the fall of the Watchers, the angels who had taken the daughters of humans as wives and from whom the giants were born.

The evil beings present on earth are the spirits of the giants, the bastard offspring of the angels and human women.²⁹ The second part is usually known as the “Book of Parables.” This booklet recounts the ascent of Enoch to the heavens and explicates the traditions of the Book of Watchers.³⁰

Qumran has revealed eleven Aramaic manuscripts containing parts of 1 Enoch, which suggests 1 Enoch was highly important for the movement behind the library. The influence of the myth of the Watchers at Qumran is beyond doubt, but it is not certain that all evil beings were understood as part of the same narrative framework.

Although there is no consensus between scholars about many of the aspects related to evil beings, most scholars highlight the heavy influence of the Enoch tradition on the topic. In a similar framework is Jubilees. The Book of Jubilees is a portrait of a divine revelation to Moses retelling the stories from Genesis 1 to Exodus 19. The date of the composition is debated, but it is clear that the author knew parts of 1 Enoch (1 Enoch 72-82; 1-36; 91-107 and 83-90). Jubilees was composed in Hebrew and later translated into Greek and possibly

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ 1 Enoch 15:8-16:4. Michael A. Knibb, “1 Enoch,” in *The Apocryphal Old Testament*, ed. H. F. D Sparks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 203–5.

³⁰ The following books (“Book of Luminaries”, “Book of Dreams” and “The Epistle of Enoch”) extend the visions of Enoch in heaven and devote more time to descriptions of the future. Due the lack of explicit references to evil beings in those parts, they are not going to be discussed here.

Syriac.³¹ The versions in Latin and Ethiopic are likely translated from Greek.³² The book survived in its most complete form in Ethiopic translation, though fourteen (possibly fifteen) copies were found at Qumran.³³

Jubilees has an important place at Qumran, which is indicated not only by the large number of copies found there, Jubilees being one of the best attested texts in the collection, but also by the connections made between Jubilees and other texts. The most explicit connection between Jubilees and another text from Qumran is made in CD 16:2b-4a, which quotes Jubilees as an authoritative text.³⁴

In Jubilees the evil beings are also the souls of the giants after the flood. Jubilees 10:1-14 makes it clear that the angel of Mastema was the one who asked God to keep a part of the souls of the giants after the flood as a way to punish humans who departed from the proper way. The souls of the giants under the commandment of the angel of Mastema are allowed by God to lead humanity astray during a certain period of time. Those spirits, the spirits of the bastards, are, in some of the texts, the evil beings.³⁵ However prominent in scholarship,

³¹ Orval S. Wintermute, "Jubilees," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works*, ed. James H. Charlesworth, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 35-142, 41.

³² James C. VanderKam, "Jubilees," *EDSS*: 435.

³³ Michael A. Knibb, *Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community* (London: King's College London, 1989), 10.

³⁴ Ibid., 12. See further Charlotte Hempel, "The Place of the Book of Jubilees at Qumran and Beyond," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context*, ed. Timothy Lim et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 187-96, 195.

³⁵ Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1-4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions," *DSD* 7.3 (2000): 354-77; Loren T. Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Jubilees and the Origin of Evil," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah*, ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 294-308; David W. Suter, "Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6-16," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 115-35; Gideon Bohak, *Ancient Jewish Magic*; Sacha Stern, "Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 232-53; Archie T. Wright, "Some Observations of Philo's De Gigantibus and Evil Spirits in Second Temple Judaism," *JSJ* 36.4 (2005): 471-88; Angela Kim Harkins, Kelley Coblentz Bautch, and John C. Endres, eds., *The Watchers in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014); Molly M. Zahn, "Parabiblical Texts / Rewritten Scripture"; Mika S. Pajunen, "Bible".

it is important to question the extent to which all the texts which deal with evil beings from Qumran are necessarily connected to Enoch or/and to Jubilees. Bastards appears in 4Q511 2ii 3 (Angel 2 3):

ועדת ממזרים כ[ו]ל] and the congregation of bastards, all

Congregation of bastards is a unique combination to 4Q511 and not necessarily a reference to otherworldly evil beings since, as we have noted before, the distinction between otherworldly and human is not always clear in the texts analysed in this thesis.³⁶ 4Q511 2ii 3 (Angel 2 3) is a good example of the ambiguity that appears in many examples, the “congregation of bastards” can refer to a mixture of both groups. In any case, the word ממזרים (bastards)³⁷ denotes a bad/not-correct group. The reference in line 3 is not entirely clear, since the text breaks off after bastards, and it is not possible to define if they are active or passive in this example.

In 4Q511 35 7 (Angel 5 7):

[] ב[ו]ל רוחי ממזרים להכניעם מירא [] With His mighty all the spirits of the bastards
are subdued from fear

The “spirits of the bastards” are clearly an antagonistic group, one that is being subdued from “fear” by the “might” of God. The verb כנע (to humble, subdue) in the hifil infinitive construct appears another 11 times in the Scrolls, mostly in military contexts (1QSa (1Q28a) 1:21; 1Q28b (1QSb) 3:18; 1QMilhamah (1Q33) 1:6, 4:5; 11:3, 17:5; 4QMilhamah^a (4Q491) 1-

³⁶ For more on the ambiguity between human and otherworldly in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran please refer to chapter 4, particularly 4.1.3.

³⁷ David J. A. Clines, ed., “ממזר,” *DCH* 5: 330.

3:8) or in a fragmentary context in another text dealing with evil beings, 6Q18 1 6. The word גבורה (might) is repeated elsewhere in 4Q511, as demonstrated in chapter 4.1.1, either to represent a group of angels, a group of humans, a mixture of both or is a direct way for God to combat evil beings. The vocabulary in the passage points to a military context. Another passage where the term occurs is in 4Q510 1 5-6, as part of a list alongside other evil beings. In this case the “spirits of the bastards” are subdued by “his strength” (בגבורתו) a term that occurs repeatedly in 4Q511 and 4Q510. The submission of the spirits of the bastards is by fear, very likely fear of God. Bastards appear again in 4Q511 48+49+51+53 3 (Angel 10:3), this time related to the verb frighten (יִפְחַד) found in the previous line, 4Q511 48+49+51+53 2 (Angel 10:2). The passage runs as follows:

2	[עָה וּבִפִּי יִפְחַד]	הַיְּהוּדִים צִדְקוֹ וְ	majesties of His righteousness [] and my
			mouth he frightens
3	[טִי טִמְאָה כִּיֹּא בְּתִכְמִי]	מִמְזִרִים לְהַכְנִיעַ	bastards to subdue [] uncleanness
			because in the filth of

It is possible that “bastards” in l. 3 are the ones being frightened (l. 2). If so, it is through the mouth of the interlocutor from line 2 that the bastards are frightened. The terrifying of the bastards is intended to subdue (לְהַכְנִיעַ) someone. From the remains it is not clear if the one(s) subdued are the bastards or if their chastening causes the restraint of others. The previous line suggests that the evil beings are the ones suffering submission. The gap between the fragments after the reference to the bastards is, according to Angel’s reconstruction (38-45, especially 43), no more than 1 cm, enough for one average sized word to fit. It is likely that bastards is completing the sense of the previous sentence and טִמְאָה

Chapter 5

(uncleanness) refers to a new sentence. The verb כנע (subdue) is mostly used in military contexts. This suggests that, similarly to 4Q511 35 (Angel 5 7), here in 4Q511 48+49+51+53:3 (Angel 10 3) the “bastards” are mentioned again in a military scene.

A partial להכניע (to subdue) is legible in 6Q18 1 6, but it is the only word preserved in the line.

5	תרוע]ה shou[t
6	להכניע] to subd[ue
7]הוי Woe[

There is no context to identify who is subdued, but considering how the term *knʿ* is connected to military actions, it can be a reference to the destruction/control of an evil being. From the previous examples, it can be extrapolated that here too it is one of the “bastards” who is being subdued, but the other examples are from other texts, and the reconstruction cannot be shown conclusively. In 6Q18 “subdue” is associated with an action, a shout, which can be a magical act and part of the process of subduing.

To sum up, the word *mmzrym* is likely a reference to evil beings. It appears mostly as a passive agent in 4Q511. The term is also preserved in a passage where it is not possible to determine whether they are passive or active in 4Q511 and 6Q18. Furthermore the “bastards” are described as passive in military scenes, which suggests that they were seen as something that can be fought in a physical way. From this scenario, the magical texts associated with evil beings appear to be more concerned with forms of curtailing evil

influence in human life, as in military descriptions, than with an explanation of who the evil beings are.

5.6 The Befallen

One particular group is interesting when talking about the action of evil beings, and that is the humans who are directly affected by their influence. In 4Q511 11 8:

] םוּ םהּפּגועים[Those who are fallen upon/ are befallen by

The passage is fragmentary, but the preserved terminology is interesting. It is not clear who the evil beings are that can “fall upon” others, and neither is it clear who is in danger of “being fallen upon”. Earlier in the same fragment it is possible to read about something that “falls upon to afflict” and “those who terrify him”. It is very likely that the passage is describing some sort of evil being, one that can attack without previous notice. The passage is translated as “ceux qui sont frappés” by Baillet³⁸ and as “the demon possessed” by Abbe, Wise, and Cook (DSSEL). Although the reference to evil beings is quite certain, I do not think it is appropriate to translate this as “demon possessed”, since this suggests a more complex phenomenon associated with demons, which can lead to an oversimplification of the issue. The English word “possessed” lacks the sense of imminent danger that “fall upon” appears to express.

The passive role of the subject in 4Q511 11 8 can be another indication of the type of power that is being described. It is something that terrifies, that falls upon and that “you” will not see.

³⁸ Baillet, DJD 7: 228.

A similar type of danger is mentioned in the final Psalm in the Community Rule from Cave 1, 1QS 10:15, where a sudden attack can harm a person. The passage does not include a clear reference to evil beings, but the repetition of fear and dread that occurs already in 1QS 1:17 to describe the rule of Belial, suggests a connection between the two passages. In 1QS 10:15 fear and dread are not just characteristics of a period, but refer to states of mind that can suddenly befall the speaker. Similarly, in 1QS 1:17 the language used suggests that the type of danger envisaged could be harmful to everyone, but in 1QS 10:15 it is more explicit that this can happen without previous notice. The passage also includes the words distress and desolation, (צרה עם בוקה) possibly consequences of fear and dread or another type of danger. For Leaney the reference to fear and dread in this passage refers to “the kind of evil especially likely to overtake a member of the sect, subject as he was to the danger of persecution”.³⁹ Following this idea, fear and dread in 1QS 10:15 would not make reference to a period of time but rather to threats that could occasionally befall someone. The idea of an evil that “overtakes a member” is coherent with the possibility of evil beings involved in the danger described.

An evil that can befall someone is an evil that threatens the daily lives of people. In 4Q510 1 6 it is clear that there is a particular type of evil being, different from “all the spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers” (4Q510 1 5) quoted in the previous line. They are “those which fall upon men without warning”, a very similar idea to the one preserved in 4Q511 11 8.⁴⁰

³⁹ A. R. C. Leaney, *The “Rule” of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1966), 248.

⁴⁰ The word פגע is used also in 11Q5 (11QPs^a) 17:10 and 11Q11 5:2.

In sum 4Q510, 511 and 1QS all preserve the idea that a sudden danger can “fall upon” people without warning. Those passages suggest an ambience of constant danger, maybe a way of keeping people from sinning.

5.7 “Niedrigkeitsdoxologie”

Other than the ambience of fear, the magical texts related to evil beings also portray humans recognizing their lowly nature, as in 4Q511 28-29 4 (Angel 7 4):

3 You have put knowledge in my foundation
[ש]מתה דעת בסוד עפרי לה [] ואני מצירוק
of dust [] and I was formed from spittle
יצר

4 [חמר] קֹרַצְתִּי וּמָחוּשׁךְ מֵגֶב[לִי הֲ] יוֹה וְעֻלָּה
moulded of clay and from darkness

[] and injustice in the bowels of
kneaded []
בתכמי בשרי
my flesh

The subject of the passage is a human recognizing the lowliness of the human nature vis-à-vis God's glory, which has been classified as *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*.⁴¹ The creation of humans by God is alluded to by the use of מצירוק (spittle)⁴² and חמר (clay)⁴³ in some other texts in the DSS, such as 1QS 11:21-22 (4Q264 8-10).⁴⁴ The distinctive aspect in 4Q511 is that the human is not only moulded from clay, but also "from darkness kneaded". The use of "darkness" as an element of creation has no precedent in other texts and creates the possibility that the

⁴¹ Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 27–29.

⁴² The act of spitting saliva is an element of creation in Egyptian and Babylonian traditions. Daniel Frayer-Griggs, "Spittle, Clay, and Creation in John 9:6 and Some Dead Sea Scrolls," *JBL* 132.3 (2013): 659–70, 667–69; Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1997), 75–78.

⁴³ Frayer-Griggs, "Spittle, Clay, and Creation in John 9:6 and Some Dead Sea Scrolls," 666–67.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 664.

subject is evil in some way. It is possible that we have here another scheme on the origin of some type of evil beings, a possibility that should not be discounted despite the prominence of the Enoch/Watchers traditions elsewhere in the DSS. While describing its own creation the speaker takes up a passive position, one that is created, moulded and kneaded. The speaker does not have control of how she/he was created, but it is the recognition of those lowly elements of creation that enable divine knowledge to reach the subject.

5.8 Power Structures

Diverse power structures can be noticed in the way otherworldly beings interact in the Scrolls. Alexander discussed how some beings are more powerful and have command over others. He defines them as “Prince of the demons”.⁴⁵ As with other aspects of evil beings, this is also more complex than at first sight appears. In this section I will explore power structures among evil beings represented in the Scrolls.

The word ממשל appears 89 times in the Scrolls and is mostly used in a negative context.⁴⁶

The root meaning of the word is in the semantic realm of ruling.⁴⁷ In contrast to other words used to describe ruling like *mlk*, dominion usually concentrates on the rule or dominion itself and less on the person (being) of the ruler, and it usually implies a large scope of rule, embracing the whole created world.⁴⁸ The term often applies to some kind of sphere of influence that can also include a period of time.⁴⁹ In 1QpHab 2:13 the term is used to describe the dominion of the Kittim, a term that came to represent a series of powerful

⁴⁵ Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 341.

⁴⁶ Gross, “משל,” *TDOT* 7: 71.

⁴⁷ Barbara Schlenke, “משל,” *ThWQ* 2: 819–26; David J. A. Clines, ed., “משל,” *DCH* 5: 334–36.

⁴⁸ Gross, *TDOT* 7: 68–69.

⁴⁹ Schlenke, *ThWQ* 2: 823–25.

Gentile adversaries. In 1QpHab it is used as an equivalent of the term Chaldeans.⁵⁰ In 1QS 1:18; 1:23; 2:19 ממשלה refers to the dominion of Belial. Though it occurs mostly in a negative context the word is also used positively in several examples, e.g. 1QS 3:17 where it explains the dominion of humanity over the earth and in 1QS 3:20, the dominion of the prince of light over the sons of righteousness.

ממשלה (dominion) appears six times in 4Q511. In 4Q511 2i 3 (Angel 1 3) we read:

וְרוֹשׁ מִמְשָׁלוֹת הַשְּׁבִיט לֹאִין He stopped the head of the dominions
without

The line refers to someone - it is not clear whom - who stopped the “head of the dominions”. Considering that the “head of the dominions” is being stopped, and that the word “dominion” is often used in a negative sense the one being stopped is likely an evil figure. The active agent in the passage is the one responsible for stopping this lead figure, which is the passive agent.

In 4Q511 1 1 (Angel 3 1) the word is preserved in the first line of the fragment, and it is not possible to say much about it other than note the third masculine plural suffix. Two lines later the text has רְחוּת מִמְשָׁלָהּ (spirits of its/her dominion) and the proximity in the text makes it plausible that both references are to the same thing. Spirit, as demonstrated in section 4.5, is a complex word that, in a similar way to dominion, can also be used with reference to good and/or bad things.

The complete phrase in 4Q511 1 3 (Angel 3 3) reads as follows:

⁵⁰ Shani Tzoref, “Kittim,” *EDEJ*: 1052.

רוחות ממשלתה תמיד יב[רכו]הו בקציהם spirits of her/its dominion continually they
shall bless him in their times

In this case, it is important to notice that the spirits are under some type of dominion and it is more likely that an evil being is in charge of them. As discussed above, the use of “dominion” in 4Q511 is more often related to evil beings than benevolent ones. It is also important that ממשלה (dominion) has a second person feminine suffix, which excludes the possibility that God is the head of the dominion. Since the subjects of the dominion are spirits, it is more likely that their leader is an otherworldly evil being. The passage also makes clear that people shall “bless him in their times”, likely the times of the dominion of the evil being. Considering the timeframe that “dominion” implies, the word ממשלה is used not only to delimit the space/time to which the spirits belong, but it is also a way to qualify the type of spirit.

6QpapHymn (6Q18) 6 3-5:

3]מושלים[those who rule [
4]אמתו ל[]his truth [
5]הלל]praise God[

The only preserved word of line 3 is מושלים (those who rule). It is not clear if the reference is to human rule, but the root of the word is related to dominion in a sense of time and territory. In the DSS it is mostly connected to negative contexts, as argued above. In 6Q18 it is clearly referring to some kind of ruling group.

Another way to indicate power structures is the ranking of beings/groups. In 4Q511 2ii 8 (Angel 2 8) we read,

] כמוהם וְטִמְאִים כְּנִדְתָּם] like them, and the unclean according to their
impurity

The unclean are to be ranked “according to their impurity”, implying that there were different types of purity and some were considered more severe than others. As discussed above, in some of the texts evil beings were envisaged as having some type of power structure. 4Q511 2i 3 (Angel 1 3) and 4Q511 1 1-3 (Angel 3 1-3) refer to the idea of a special/temporal dominion, which is likely controlled by evil beings (or by a specific evil being). Considering that 4Q511 is a group of songs, it is not certain that this structure is applicable to the whole text. 6Q18 6 3 also attests the idea of a ruling group, characterized by a plural. However, while we have a small number of indications of a hierarchical scheme, in general descriptions of power structures and evil masters were not the focus of the magical texts related to evil beings. It is also noticeable that the descriptions of beings in power positions are not necessarily related to active roles, and those agents are either in more passive positions, like in 4Q511 2i 3 (Angel 1 3) where the “head of the dominions” is being stopped and in 4Q511 2ii 8 (Angel 2 8) where the agents are being separated according to their impurity, or in other non-defined roles, as in 4Q511 1 3 (Angel 3 3) and 6Q18 6 3-5.

5.9 Destruction/Suffering of Evil Beings

The defeat/suffering of evil beings is attested repeatedly in the texts, represented in different forms. 11Q11 has the best preserved description of the destruction/suffering of evil beings in 11Q11 4:4-12:

	יככה יהוה מ[כה גדול]ה אשר לאבדך]	THE LORD will strike you with a [grea]t
4		b[low] to destroy you[
	ובחרון אפיו[...עליך מלאך תקיף]	And in his burning anger[]against you a
5		powerful angel[]
	רו אשר[...רחמ[ים] עליך אשר]	[]rw, who[] compassion over you,
6		whic[h]
	על כול אלה אשר[יורידו]ך לתהום רבה	[] [] over all these, who are [taking] you
7		[down] to the great deep
	כב וחשך[] התחתיה ומי[...]	[] the deepest wmy[] And [] and dark
8		
	זה מואדה[...זד בארץ]	[]kh greatly []wd on the earth
9		
	עד עולם וא[...בקללת האב]	[]until forever and '[] with a curse of
10		h'b[]
	חרון אף י[...חושך בכ[ול]]	[]the burning anger of y[] darkness in
11		a[ll]
	תעניות[...מתנתך]	[] humiliation [] your gift
12		

Line 4 makes it clear that a being, likely evil, will be destroyed by the LORD with a great blow. After that, a powerful angel will be sent against the being. The next line reads “compassion over you”. Considering the context, it is plausible that this expression had a negative before it.⁵¹ The text follows with a threat, describing that the being will be sent to “the great deep”. Line 8 reinforces the idea of a place that is “deep” and “dark” to where a being is threatened

⁵¹ Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 143.

to be pulled. The expression “great abyss” does not occur in any other text from Qumran.

Still in the same column, we learn that the timeframe for this “banishment” is forever.

Another preserved example of destruction of a being is attested in 4Q511 20ii 3-4:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 2 | יִרְאָה יְהוָה] fearing of |
| 3 | יִרְעוּ יְהוָה] they shall break |
| 4 | יִתְמוּגְגְּוּ they shall come apart |

Line 3 refers explicitly to an undetermined group “they shall break”, while in line 4 “they shall come apart”. Since the references are to destructive experiences it is more likely that the subjects are antagonists, some kind of evil beings, though not necessarily non-human.

The use of descriptions of what will happen to evil beings if the song is effective are common in other magical texts from later periods. Noticeable from the examples is the type of treatment inflicted in each case and the passive role that evil beings are subjected to. 11Q11 4:4-12 has a clear description of the timeframe, while in 4Q511 20ii 3-4, likely due to the fragmentary state, this is less clear. 11Q11, though referring to destruction, appears to envisage banishment, while the 4Q511 seems to be concerned with types of destruction.

5.10 Miscellaneous references

The Scrolls present us with a variety of references to other agents. Some do not fit into the divisions presented in this chapter and are grouped into the miscellaneous category.

4Q510 3 contains a reference to a being that is not clearly described. 4Q510 1 1-4 reads,

- 1 תשובות בר[כות למ]לך הכבוד [] [] praises. Ble[ssings to the K]ing of
 דברי הודות בתהלי Glory. Words of thanksgiving and prayers
 of
- 2 לאלוהי דעות תפארת ג[בור]ות אל אלים [] [] to the God of knowledge, splendour of
 אדון לכול קדושים וממש[לתו] s[treng]th, the God of Gods, Lord of all the
 holy ones. [His] ru[le]
- 3 על כול גבורי כוח ומכוח גבור[ת]ו יבהלו ויתפזרו is over all the mighty of strength, and the
 כול ויחפזו מהדר[מ]ע] streng[th] of His might will dismay and
 scatter all, and they will run hurriedly from
 the glory of m[]
- 4 כבוד מלכותו vacat ואני משכיל משמיע הוד the glory of his kingdom. vacat And I am a
 תפארתו לפחד ולב[הל] Maskil, who makes known His glorious
 splendour so as to frighten and to te[rify]

We will focus first on line 3, where there is a group, who are running. The question is who is running? The verbs are in the 3rd masculine plural, so referring to a group of beings that will be “dismayed and scattered” by the “streng[th] of his might.” Since the verbs are in the niphal and hithpael, the ones running are unlikely to be “the mighty of strength”, since the latter are part of God’s rule and consequently a benevolent group. A benevolent group has no reason to run from the glory of God, and it is the strength of God’s might that causes “all” to be dismayed and scattered. The question remains, who are the ones running in line 3? A more plausible idea is that the group who is “dismayed” and “scattered”, who are also “running hurriedly from the glory” is not mentioned in line 3. In this case, the group who is “running hurriedly from the glory” may have been mentioned earlier.

Looking to the two previous lines, 4Q510 1 1-2, there is no reference to a group that could be considered bad or/and opposed to God. Consequently, it is possible that the first four lines of 4Q510 are actually the closing sentences of another song and that a new song is starting after the *vacat* in line 4. 4Q510 1 1 would not be the beginning of a song as is usually assumed, but 4Q510 1-3 could be the closing part of another song. If so, the group referred to in line 3 was mentioned earlier, on another sheet that was not preserved. There are no stitching marks preserved in 4Q510 1, but this does not completely exclude this possibility. One more aspect to consider is the first preserved word of the fragment, תשובות. This is usually translated as an absolute noun, however it could also be a construct noun. In that case, the missing part of parchment at the beginning of line 1 would not be a *vacat* as is usually presumed by scholars. The gap is big enough for a word to fit into the space, allowing for the possibility that this line continues text that began on an earlier sheet. If it was a *vacat* at the beginning of fragment 1 it is important to notice that the space between the start of the other lines and the first word is almost twice the size as the space of the other *vacats* in the same fragment.

5.11 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a catalogue and analyses of the other agents in the magical texts related to evil beings in the DSS. The picture that emerges is again a complex one. Many of the expressions used to describe those non-active beings leave us uncertain whether they are referring to benevolent or malevolent beings. “Sons of” is an example of this type of expression, which can be coupled with references to evil or good agents. When complemented with “light”, the expression “sons of light” is used many times in the DSS, sometimes as a synonym for the community related to the Scrolls. Although recurrent in the

DSS in general, “sons of light” is less prominent in the magical texts related to evil beings. The expression is preserved only on 4Q510, portraying a group that is experiencing misfortune in “times of humiliation”. This period is likely a dominion of evil beings and wickedness. The mention of “sons of the light” in 4Q510 leads scholars to interpret 4Q510, and by extension 4Q511, as devoted to the protection of the “sons of light”. Considering the absence of any other references to the term this view is not strongly supported. However, the expression does attest a communal setting, as interpreted by Angel.⁵² The other benevolent being described by “son of” is a singular individual, the “son of Isaac”. This is likely a reference to someone as part of Israel.

The “sons of Belial” are also mentioned once, in 11Q11 6:3. While this is a very likely reconstruction of a partially preserved reading, not much context has been preserved. The reference occurs at the end of a psalm, likely portraying this group in a passive position of destruction or incarceration. Other malevolent beings are the “sons of injustice”, in 4Q511 3 8. The context tells us that they “will not be sustained”, which indicates their passive role.

One more group mentioned in a passive role, being made to dread and being condemned, are the “wicked” on 4Q511 12 1 and 4Q511 63iii (Angel 15 4). “Bastards” are referred to as passive agents on 4Q510 and 4Q511. They are also mentioned in 6Q18, but there the context is lost.

Giving a sense of a collectiveness, Israel is mentioned three times in 4Q511, and two of the references are likely from the same psalm. It is not clear, but it is possible that Israel is

⁵² Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511),” 6.

mentioned as part of a historical narrative, recounting what happened before the emergence of the Yahad. The sense of collective can also be identified in 11Q11, mostly on the basis of the mention of “nation”, which is likely being cured. The reference can be understood as some sort of effort at collective protection, where the beings are not portrayed as active.

In opposition to “those who fall upon man without warning” that were mentioned in 4Q511 and 4Q510, there is also a reference to those “befallen”. 4Q510 includes a psalm that features “befallen” as important to the text, and it is possible that being “befallen” is a way of referring to a case of possession.

Being “moulded of clay and from darkness kneaded” is the description of a being in 4Q511 28-29 4 (Angel 7 4). This reference is likely a recognition of the sinful nature and frailty of the human creature. The use of the term “darkness” is unusual in this context, the being is kneaded from darkness, which indicates that they are created evil.

Before proceeding to the next chapter it is important to highlight the descriptions of evil beings as the sufferers of punishments and destruction. The description of destruction, imprisonment or banishment of evil beings is a common feature in magical texts from later periods. It functions in two directions, to frighten evil beings, on the one hand, and to define the boundaries of the magical text, on the other hand. Among the magical texts related to evil beings 11Q11, 4Q511 and 6Q18 are the texts that preserves these types of descriptions.

The next chapter moves on to describe and analyse the means for fending off danger that are hinted at or described in the magical texts related to evil beings.

6 Means for Fending off Danger

The past chapters highlighted the roles of different agents in the fight against evil beings. In this chapter, I will look into the various apotropaic aids described in the texts. In this orality plays a fundamental role. The vast majority of the population was illiterate during the Second Temple period,¹ but had access to literary work through various types of performance.²

The overall structure of this chapter takes the form of three sections, mapping the main forms of action represented in the magical texts related to evil beings. The first section will look at references that are connected to liturgy, such as the utilization of blessings and curses. The second section examines musical actions and the importance of music. The final section concentrates on elements that could be weaponized to be used in the fight against evil beings.

6.1 Liturgical and Formulaic Elements

Liturgy and magic are two concepts that are closely connected but are not interchangeable. Magic, as debated in chapter 1.3, is understood in this thesis as any action intended to alter the natural world or the course of events. Liturgy, on the other hand, refers to a systematic use of rituals in public performance.³ Considering those definitions not all magic uses liturgy and not all liturgy is magical. In most cases the difference depends on the intention of an

¹ Ernst R. Wendland, *Finding and Translating the Oral-Aural Elements in Written Language: The Case of the New Testament Epistles with a Foreword by Johan C. Thom*. (Lewiston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2008), 6–7.

² *Ibid.*, 8.

³ Daniel K. Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. John J. Collins and Timothy H. Lim (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 617–51, 634.

action. While liturgical actions are not always intended to influence or alter the physical world, magic functions primarily as the path to channel stronger powers to alter the physical world.

6.1.1 Blessings

The use of blessings in the Bible⁴ and in the DSS⁵ is well attested for many different situations, from the blessings pronounced by a king to his people on festive occasions (e.g. 1 Kgs 8:56-61)⁶ to a short blessing used in everyday activities (Ruth 2:4).⁷

Brk can be interpreted as a “powerful word”,⁸ a word that when pronounced correctly, by the correct people in the correct circumstance is magical in character. Despite its later use in magical formulae, Scharbert argues that the magical character of the formulaic use of *barukh* should not be assumed a priori. For him the formula is used “as a praise or as a declaration of grateful solidarity rather than an incantation”.⁹ He notes that only in the “oldest tradition strata of the patriarchal narratives” can the use of *brk* be connected to magical attitudes, mainly rooted in the idea that words pronounced by a figure of power/importance (in this example tribal fathers) are powerful by themselves.¹⁰ This view is rooted in an attempt at drawing a line between magic and religion. Other authors, such as Aitken¹¹ and Mitchel¹² explored the effectiveness of blessings through the lens of social and

⁴ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 119.

⁵ Brooke, “Reading, Searching and Blessing”, 155.

⁶ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 120.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸ James K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*, ANESSup 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

⁹ Scharbert, “ברך,” *TDOT* 2: 286.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ James K. Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*.

¹² Christopher Wright Mitchell, *The Meaning of BRK “To Bless” in the Old Testament* (Atlanta: SBL, 1987).

semantic conventions, focusing on the anthropological and philosophical elements of it.

Aitken points out that words can have power, not because of the word itself, but because of the conventions of their use.¹³ I agree that it is important to be cautious when defining the magical elements of a word or attitude, but I do not believe that non-magical elements invalidate the magical character of the *barukh* formulae. As will be made clear later in this chapter, praising can also have a magical role in particular situations.

In the DSS, *brk* has a similar use to the one in the HB. In addition, the verb occurs in the DSS with food as object (1QS 6:5f).¹⁴ Scharbert suggests that the earlier magical use of *brk* is diminished in the uses of the HB, since the power of bringing blessings is always attributed to God. I believe that this approach reflects a particular view of magic, which disassociates it from divine entities. However, in many examples of magic, the ultimate power comes from divine entities and not from the magician. The magician is usually a channel through which powers to act as such a specialist who has the capability of conducting powers from one area to another. In this sense when a person is asking God for a blessing (for himself or others) he is ultimately performing a magical act, regardless of where the power comes from. Nitzan points out that blessings between two individuals can represent a type of prayer where God agrees to bless the one being blessed.¹⁵ Considering Nitzan's view blessings in this case are magical in the sense that they bring to the blessed being something that is not achievable in another way, something that needs the power of God to become reality.

¹³ Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*, 23.

¹⁴ For more on blessing and food please refer to Charlotte Hempel, "Who Is Making Dinner at Qumran?," *JTS* 63.1 (2012): 49–65; James K. Aitken, "ברך," *ThWQ* 1: 523.

¹⁵ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 120–21.

2 [] and in everything what? *rʃhm* |

will bless Your name, and

during my appointed times I will recount

ובמועדי תעודותי אספרה

3 נִפְלְאוֹתֶיכָה וְאַחֲרֵתָם חֹקֵי הַיְּהוּדִים כְּבוֹדְכָה Your wonders. And I shall engrave them,

statutes of thanksgiving for Your glory.

It is not clear from those lines whether the actions described relate to evil beings. Blessing and recounting the wonders of God are two interconnected actions in the passage. The rest of the fragment does not have any clear reference to evil beings, but considering that “blessings” are specifically said to be used during the dominion of an evil being in 4Q511 1 1-4 (Angel 3 1-4) it is likely that “blessing”, “recounting” and “engraving statues of thanksgiving” are actions that can be used for protection against evil beings.

In sum the word *brk* by itself does not have apotropaic power, but its use in a determined context could infuse it with power. Nitzan points out that in the examples above from 4Q511 *brk* can be understood as a “weapon” used by a group of people to combat evil beings.¹⁶ Although not all references to *brk* are magical in content, blessings in the examples analysed, as noted by Nitzan, are an element of magic and were likely used as “powerful words” as pointed by Aitken.¹⁷

6.1.2 Curses

A curse is the use of a powerful word with the aim of causing harm to another party. The magical character of cursing is not contested, what is contested is the comprehension of

¹⁶ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 272.

¹⁷ Aitken, *The Semantics of Blessing and Cursing in Ancient Hebrew*.

magic in relation to religion, as explored in chapter 1.3. When analysing the nuances of the words used for curses many scholars advocate a clear separation between magic and religion, mostly based on the idea that those two concepts are mutually exclusive.

Cursing is another way to actively combat evil beings. The use of curses is attested in ceremonial contexts in Qumran, as noted by Chazon, mainly based on the Deuteronomic model of blessings/curses. Later texts such as those attested in the Cairo Genizah and Aramaic magic bowls, demonstrate that curses were employed for protection.

There is more than one word that can be used to utter a curse. אָרַר is often a “curse” in a formulaic manner. The subject can be a person, a thing, singular or plural.¹⁸ This formulaic use is likely what is referred to in 4Q444,¹⁹ but both curse references are fragmentary.

4Q444 $1-4i + 5i$ 5 reads:

5 [לָ] [תְּ דִינֶיהָ vacat אָרוּר] its/her judgements. *vacat* Cursed be

6 רָוַן הָאֱמֶת וְהַמִּשְׁפָּט *rwn* the truth and the judgement.

There is a small *vacat* before the word אָרוּר (cursed be), but the line is broken after that.

Chazon argues that the structure of 4Q444 is a hymn in column i 1-4 and a list of curses from 5-11.²⁰ The division proposed by Chazon is as follows:

(Hymn)

¹⁸ Scharbert, “אר,” *TDOT* 1: 408.

¹⁹ Lawrence H. Schiffman, "אר," *ThWQ* 1: 304.

²⁰ Chazon, DJD 29: 368–69.

And I, from my fear of God, he opened my mouth with his true knowledge; and because his holy spirit [truth to a[l]l[]. They became spirits of dispute in my (bodily) structure; statute[s of [in]blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness, or with this [] And strengthen yourself with the statutes of God, and in order to fight against the spirits of wickedness, and not [

(List of curses after the *vacat*)

] its/her judgements. *vacat* Cursed be
] the truth and the judgement.
] until the completion of its dominion
ba]stards and the spirit of impurity
] and the thief[s
ri]ghteous ones []
] abominati[on

For Chazon the two literary units, hymn and curses, are linked by language and motifs.²¹

According to the author the hymn (4Q444 1:1-4) acknowledges God's gift of inspired speech, highlighting the presence of spirits of knowledge, truth and the holy spirit upon the speaker.²² The curses (4Q444 1:5-11) were directed at "various classes of demons", which

²¹ Ibid., 369.

²² Ibid., 368.

were also mentioned in the text.²³ Chazon acknowledges that the fragmentary state of the text makes the proposed division far from certain.²⁴ However, she points out that the use of אָרֹר (cursed be) in line 5 together with the mention of two types of evil beings in line 8 and the reference to the “completion of its dominion” in line 7 are strong indications that a curse formula was used to turn away evil beings.²⁵

There is a second mention of the word '*rr*' on 4Q444 6 3, which Chazon proposes belongs to the same column i.²⁶ The passage reads as follows:

[illegible]

4] יֵד רוּחַי אִמְתָּ[] spirits of truth[

The word ארורה is the only complete word preserved in the line. The passive form of the word can indicate that it is a reference to something that has been done or represents part of a curse formula. It is likely directed at a feminine evil being. The reference to a dominion in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 7 also uses a feminine singular suffix, ממשלתה (her dominion), so it is possible that both are referring to the same evil being.

Considering both references to 'rr (curse) in 4Q444 (1–4i + 5i 5 and 6 3) it is safe to assume, as proposed by Chazon,²⁷ that the 'rr formula was used to keep evil beings at bay.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., 369.

²⁵ Ibid., 39.

²⁶ Ibid., 367–68.

²⁷ Ibid., 369.

קלל is another word for cursing. In contrast to 'rr, qll is not formulaic, but it is used in the DSS to refer to the pronunciation of the 'ārûr formula over someone, such as in 1QS 2:4, 10, etc.²⁸ The terms also occurs in 4Q511 11 3-4:

3 ה[וֹמַר] לְכָל בּוֹלֵם and the one cursing all

4]יִפְגְּעוּ לַעֲנֹת ב' [they fall upon to afflict with

Qll occurs in line 3, where “all” will be cursed. The precise identity of “all” is not clear, but since they are being cursed it is likely a reference to evil beings. The action of cursing described is probably incorporating a cursing formula such as the *’ārûr* formula or even a formula based on *qll*. The following line mentions a group that “falls upon” and, as discussed previously in chapters 4.7 and 5.6, to fall upon can be a way to refer to a type of evil being. Another occurrence of *qll* is found in 11Q11 4:10:

10 []until forever and '[] with a curse of
h'b[]

11 []חרון אףי[...]^וחושך בך[] the fury of y[] darkness bk[]

The word just after *qll* is often reconstructed as “destruction” or as the name “Abaddon”. Van der Ploeg suggests that it should be reconstructed as “fathers”, the group who heard the curses of Deuteronomy, pronounced by Moses.²⁹ The phrase “until forever” in line 10 probably specifies that *qll* is uttered to last forever. Consequently, line 10 presents a

²⁸ Bilha Nitzan, “קלל,” *ThWQ* 3: 536-40.

²⁹ Van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de Psaumes Apocryphes (11QPsApa)," 135.

temporally defined “curse”. Another aspect of the curse in line 10 is that בְּקִלְלָת is in the construct state, being defined by the next word, which unfortunately is not preserved.

To sum up, cursing is a way of warding off evil beings in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 5, 6 3, 11Q11 4:10 and 4Q511 11 3–4. The curse in 4Q444 is more formulaic, while in 11Q11 and 4Q511 the curse is being described and delimited. Having discussed the two different ways of cursing in the magical texts related to evil beings from the DSS, the next section of this chapter will address another important feature in magical texts, the adjuration of evil beings.

6.1.3 Adjuring

In later magical texts, particularly exorcisms, the idea of adjuring an evil being is central,³⁰ often expressed by the Aramaic root ימה. Contrary to what one may have expected in magical texts related to evil beings, adjuring scenes are rare in the texts we have analysed. One possibility for this scarcity is that most of the texts from Qumran are not exorcisms *per se*, but apotropaic texts. Another possibility is that the word was simply not preserved. Still, although rare, adjuration does appear indubitably in one text and possibly in a second one.

4Q560 1ii:6 reads:

] אומיתכ רוחה I adjure you, O spirit,

The term אומיתכ (I adjure) is used in many exorcisms. The speaker is likely a being with some special position/power, through which she or he is capable of adjuring an evil being. The word is used magically, as part of the formulaic words necessary for the incantation to

³⁰ Ida Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms,” 212.

work.³¹ The use of *ruah* (or any other evil being name/reference) in the vocative is not only typical of this type of text, but it also reflects a strong oral element in the magical act. Calling out the name of the evil being was likely the format used in exorcisms, and this oral tradition is carried over into the written text.

The use of the word מִירָאִי needs to be highlighted in 4Q511 35 6 where there is a small lacuna after the word. Baumgarten suggests that the phrase מִירָאִי אֵל is used as a technical term in exorcisms from Qumran.³² Baillet also noted that a Christian Palestinian magical text uses מִירָאִי surrounded by magical symbols, reinforcing the magical aspects of it.

Given these examples it is likely that the act of adjuring was important in the context of counteracting the actions of evil beings. Later uses of the term attest to its formulaic importance in exorcisms, both in Hebrew and Aramaic. The examples from the magical texts related to evil beings show that it was already in use in the first century BCE.

6.1.4 Amen Amen

The word “amen” can be used in many ways, and when used as the formula “amen amen” the liturgical connection is clear.³³ The practice is attested in rabbinic literature (m.Ber v.4; viii.8) and in the early church (1 Cor 14:16).³⁴ Chazon uses “closing responses” such as “amen amen” in her list of formal features that suggest a liturgical use of a text.³⁵

³¹ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” : 648.

³² J. Baumgarten “The Qumran Songs Against Demons”, *Tarbiz* 55 (1986): 442-445, cf also Chazon, DJD 29: 374.

³³ David Hamidović, “אָמֵן,” *ThWQ* 1: 218.

³⁴ Jepsen, “אָמֵן,” *TDOT* 1: 321.

³⁵ Esther G. Chazon, “Prayers from Qumran and their Historical Implications,” *DSD*. 1.3 (1994): 265-84, 274–77.

The formula “amen amen” is also used as a confirmation of a petitionary prayer in, e.g., Tobit 8:8, Festival Prayers, and in the rabbinic literature, but not in the Hebrew Bible.³⁶ The same formula also became associated with the end of individual biblical books and psalms, being particularly common in collections of psalms.³⁷ To Jepsen by uttering the word “amen” once or twice the person “affirms the wish that God may act, places himself under divine judgment and joins in the praise to God”.³⁸ From this point of view, “amen” is not only a word, but a word that can confirm, close and make a prayer effective. It is a “powerful word”, magically embedded, with the power of confirmation. A double “amen” is partially preserved in 4Q511 111 9 (Angel 6 9):

6	מי[ראיו those who cause him to [f]ear
7	מ[יראיו those who cause him to [f]ear
8	[מבנית] structure
9	[אמן א[מן] amen a[men]

As noted above, more than a common way to end a biblical book and/or a psalm, “amen amen” is strongly connected to a performance, possibly by a group as in Neh 8:6. Uttering a powerful word, which is a magical action *per se*, as a final statement is a way to convey God’s power over what was previously said. The fragment is badly damaged, but it is likely that “those who cause him to fear” are evil beings, which are the object of the song, either

³⁶ Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 85.

³⁷ Hamidović, “אמה,” *ThWQ* 1, 217–18.

³⁸ Jepsen, “אמן,” *TDOT* 1: 322.

as a form of expulsion or as a way to keep them at bay. אמן אמן appears again in 4Q511 63iv

(Angel 16):

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- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | יְבָרְכוּ כֹל מַעֲשֵׂיכָה | Let them bless all Your works |
| 2 | תָּמִיד וּבִרְוַח שְׂמֵכָה | continually. And blessed be Your name |
| 3 | לְעוֹלָמִי עַד אָמֵן אָמֵן | for ever and ever amen amen |

bottom margin

As in the previous example, 4Q511 111 9 (Angel 6 9), the formula is likely repeated at the end of the song. This time there is no evidence of a reference to an evil being in the previous lines, but the structure appears to end with praises directed at the divine being.

Other than 4Q511, 11Q11 also attests the formulaic use of “amen amen”. Falk³⁹ believes that the partially reconstructed rubric “amen amen Selah” at the end of Psalm 91 on 11Q11 suggests the participation of the congregation in the prayer. For him the collective engagement of the text is evidence that 11Q11 should be classified as apotropaic and not an incantation. I believe that incantation and apotropaic are not mutually exclusive categories, and an apotropaic prayer can also function as an incantation.

Overall the formulaic use of “amen” in 4Q511 111 9 (Angel 6 9), 4Q511 63iv (Angel 16) and 11Q11 demonstrates the importance of communal performance in some apotropaic texts.

³⁹ Daniel K. Falk, “Liturgical Texts,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, forthcoming).

Possibly, the repetition of “amen amen” in a correct environment after the performance of an apotropaic text was part of the necessary actions to make the goal of the psalm effective. If so, the use of the double “amen” is part of the elements necessary to combat evil beings.

6.1.5 The Use of Names of Known Figures

Another means of fending off the danger of evil beings is the mention of known powerful figures, especially those connected to apotropaic and exorcistic activities. In the magical texts related to evil beings there are two examples of the use of known figures in apotropaic/exorcistic psalms.

6.1.5.1 Solomon

Solomon is associated with exorcisms and power over demons in a variety of sources from the Second Temple period (e.g. Josephus *Ant.* 8:45).⁴⁰ In later texts (e.g. Testament of Solomon), he will be regarded as “the Jewish arch magician”.⁴¹ Solomon occurs surprisingly rarely in the Scrolls, with only a few references preserved. Lange argues this is likely due to the ambiguity of his representation during the Second Temple period. On the one hand, his reign presents the beginning of promised blessings (4QMMT- 4Q398 11-13.1) but on the other hand he was an idolater, married foreign women and was starting to be seen as a powerful magician. Lange also mentions that the name of Solomon is often used at the beginning of sapiential literature, and most of the texts from Qumran do not preserve the beginning. Another possible reason, according to Lange, was that the “Essenes” were opposed to magical practices and this was probably the reason why they rejected

⁴⁰ According to Josephus Solomon composed incantations against evil spirits.

⁴¹ Armin Lange, “Solomon,” *EDSS* 2: 886.

Solomon.⁴² As demonstrated in this thesis and based on the full corpus of texts that survived from Qumran, I find it unlikely that the group, or groups, resisted Jewish magical practices, and Solomon's name is preserved in the Apocryphal Psalms, 11Q11 2:2:

[] [] ויקר[א] ה' שלומה[] Solomon,[] and he shall invo[ke]

This could be an early example of the use of Solomon's name as a powerful name, capable of bringing legitimacy and power to an incantation. It can also mark the beginning of a new Psalm,⁴³ likely a superscription. This is also the earliest example of the name of Solomon being used in a magical context related to evil beings, as noted by Fröhlich.⁴⁴

6.1.5.2 David

David is a prominent and symbolic figure in ancient Judaism. In the Scrolls, he is portrayed in various ways, including as a righteous example, as a psalmist, as a sage and a prophet and in the context of messianic and eschatological traditions.⁴⁵ In the Second Temple period the role of psalmist is certainly the most prominent,⁴⁶ especially considering that among the DSS the Psalter was the most represented book. David is said to have authored, through revelation, 4050 psalms (11QPsalms^a 27:2-11). Other accounts of David's life refer to his role in using psalms and playing the lyre to drive away evil beings (1 Sam 16:23). Pseudo-Philo (*Bib. Ant.* 60:1-3) and Josephus (*Ant.* 6:166) recollect the same tradition.⁴⁷ In the Scrolls,

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Mika S. Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon", 139.

⁴⁴ Fröhlich, "Healing with Psalms," 211.

⁴⁵ Peter W. Flint, "David," *EDSS*: 178.

⁴⁶ George J. Brooke and Hindy Najman, "Dethroning David and Enthroning Messiah: Jewish and Christian Perspectives," in *On Prophets, Warriors, and Kings, Former Prophets through the Eyes of Their Interpreters*, ed. George J. Brooke and Ariel Feldman (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 111-128, 122.

⁴⁷ Kenneth E. Pomykala, "David," *EDEJ*: 519.

David's ability to "charm away spirits"⁴⁸ is mentioned in 11QPs^a 27:9-10, where he is said to have composed four songs "to be sung over the stricken", which are not part of the collection of 11QPs^a.

As demonstrated in chapter 3.1 the passage in 11QPs^a and the mention of David in 11Q11, is one of the arguments used by Puech⁴⁹ and Ida Fröhlich,⁵⁰ to demonstrate David as the author of 11Q11 which is identified as the four songs to be sung over the stricken. This view is questioned by Pajunen, based on the number of psalms in 11Q11 (at least 5) and from the perspective of authorship.⁵¹ I agree with Pajunen and do not believe that 11Q11 should be ascribed to David.

David is important not only for his example of how to conduct life, but also because he has access to divine knowledge and can transform it into information available to others through the psalms he composed. As the next passage will show, it is more likely that David's name is being used to give authority and/or give more power to the psalm.

In 11Q11 5:4 after a *vacat* and likely at the beginning of a new psalm there is a reference to David as follows:

ל[עַתָּה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה] הָאֵל לְעַתָּה לְדוֹדֵי עַל Of David '[/ ʔ]hš/s in the name of YHW[H
]/ time

⁴⁸ Josephus, *Ant.* 6:166

⁴⁹ Émile Puech, "11QPsAp - Un rituel d'exorcismes," 377–408.

⁵⁰ Fröhlich, "Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar"; Fröhlich, "Healing with Psalms."

⁵¹ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 133.

This line is one of the key pieces of evidence that lead scholars to believe that 11Q11 contains the four Davidic Psalms to be sung over the stricken.⁵² His presence in the text gives authority to the psalm as a powerful being who can help channel the power of God.

It is interesting to note that ultimately the power to expel, bind, avoid, etc. an evil being comes from God. The possible active human who is responsible for performing the song is more connected to the divine being, or is more faithful, righteous, etc. Therefore, he is able to channel the power given by God. This role is similar to the one played by the Maskil in 4Q510 and 511. It is part of most magical traditions to have a particular person who can access knowledge or power in a different way from ordinary humans, and by doing so, can guarantee the success of the operation. In the example above it is more likely that the reference to David is part of the superscription of the text, and the active agent is the one who will later in the line perform the song “in the name of YHW[H]”, but that the mention of David further empowers the song and gives legitimacy to it.

6.2 Musical Actions

As demonstrated in the previous section, the voice can be an instrument for liturgy, and the choice of words used in the magical texts related to evil beings focuses on one more aspect of the use of words and sounds. Musical references are constant and the next sub-section will focus on the many words used to refer to musical elements in the magical texts related to evil beings. As will be made clear, singing and playing certain instruments was an effective way to make protection and exorcism possible in the Scrolls.

⁵² Johannes Petrus Maria van der Ploeg, “Le psaume XCI dans une recension de Qumran,” 210–17; Puech, “11QPsAp - Un rituel d'exorcismes”; Fröhlich, “Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar.”

Considering the religious importance of words, speaking is definitively a fundamental action for protection from and in the fight against evil beings. This understanding of the power of speech emerges also from our texts, such as in 4Q511 63iii (Angel 15):

	ואני תרנן לשוני צדקה כיא פתחתה ובשפתי	And as for me, my tongue will cry for joy
1	שמטה מקור	Your righteousness for you opened it. And on my lips You placed a source
2	תהלה ובלבי סוד רישית כול מעשי איש ומולות פעולות	of praise, and in my heart the secret origin of all the works of man, and the intention of the works
3	תמימי דרך ומשפטים לכול עבודת מעשיהם להצדיק	of those who (choose) a blameless path and judgments for all the works of their deeds in order to justify
4	צדיק באמתכה ולהרשיע רשע vacat באשמתו להשמיע שלום	the righteous one according to Your truth and to condemn the wicked vacat in his guilt to proclaim peace
5	לכול אנשי ברית ולה[ר]ים בקול פחד הוי לכול מפריה	to all the men of the covenant and to e[<i>xal</i>]t with a dreadful voice Woe to all who break it

This is the fragment from 4Q511 which preserves the largest number of references to actions in a possible magical context. Unfortunately, the text does not preserve any clear reference to evil beings other than the condemnation of the wicked in line 4.

In line 1 the performer of the text will “will cry for joy Your righteousness”. The action of “cry for joy” is a vocalization, and it is possible that it was related to musical performance. The

word that indicates the “cry” is רנן, which is linked to cultic actions in Lev 9:24, Ps 42:5(4) and 81:2(1), and specifically accompanied by musical instruments in Psalm 81.⁵³ In the DSS it is more often used in a situation of joy.⁵⁴

In line 5 again the voice is important. In this line, the address moves from the first person to a more general outline, the men of the covenant. All the men of the covenant shall “exalt with a dreadful voice Woe to all who break it”. The word ולהרים is mostly reconstructed, but the rest of the line supports this. This is followed by a reference to בקול פחד (with a dreadful voice). In the example from 4Q511 above it is likely that the term *qôl* refers to the voice of people emitting a particular strong/powerful sound הוי (*hōy*).

Hôy is an interjection used by the prophets against people who are committing inappropriate activities, and are thus clearly separated from God. *Hôy* is ultimately a reminder of the “certainty to the deadly consequences entailed by such actions and conduct on the part of men”.⁵⁵ In the example from 4Q511 those to whom *hōy* is directed are “all who break” the covenant, and are thus separated from those who follow it. However, both groups are ultimately connected, since they were at some point part of the same structure. 6Q18 1 has a similar group of references that are centred on vocal actions:

5	תרוע[ה] shou[t]
6	להבני[ע] to subd[ue]

⁵³ Hausmann, “רנן,” *TDOT* 7: 519.

⁵⁴ Eileen M. Schuller, “רנן,” *ThWQ* 3: 693.

⁵⁵ Zobel, “הוי,” *TDOT* 3: 364.

The fragmentary state of the papyrus poses a problem for a comprehensive analysis. Line 5 has תרוע[ה] (shou[t]) preserved and two lines later, in line 7, *hōy* is preserved. Baillet⁵⁶

suggests that the term may be a curse, probably considering the uses of *hōy* in the HB. *Hōy* is clearly onomatopoeic. Possibly the act of pronouncing *hōy* as a threat (and maybe an extended idea of curse as Baillet suggests) was at some point reserved for specialists, and there is a shift in the setting towards the prominence of a communal use in 4Q511.

Continuing with the vocal references from 6Q18, the only word preserved in frag 13 3 is ורני in the imperative feminine singular. As demonstrated above, רנן is a reference to an indefinite vocal sound. The imperative feminine singular points to an action that the subject of the text is commanding someone else to execute. It can be part of a ritual, where singing for joy (or crying in agony) play a fundamental part.

Altogether, 4Q511 demonstrates that vocalization was used in communal settings, as in 4Q511 63iii 4-5 (Angel 15 4-5), and in personal settings, as in 4Q511 63iii 1-4 (Angel 15 1-4). 6Q18 1 5-7 and 13 3 are less clear on the setting, but provide further evidence that vocalization is a key feature for apotropaic/exorcistic texts.

6.2.1 Praise

There are many words in Hebrew that can express the act of praising, usually connected to vocalizations. Each has semantic particularities and they might have represented different types of actions at some point. One of the most common roots to represent the idea of

⁵⁶ Baillet, DJD 3: 133.

praising is הלל. In many examples where praise is offered it is accompanied by musical instruments, offered “with a song” (Ps 69:30-31), “with dancing” (Ps 149:3), and “with music” (Ps 150:1-5).⁵⁷

4Q511 35 4-6 (Angel 5 4-6) reads:

- 4 כוהנים עֵם צדקו צבאו ומשרתים מלאכי כבודו priests His righteous people and His army
and ministering angels of His glory
- 5 יהללוהו בהפלא נוראות ו *vacat* They shall praise Him in His fearsome
wonders *vacat*
- 6 אני מירא אל בקצי דורותי לרומם שם דבר [] and I fear God in the times of my
generations to high praise (the) name, he
spoke

The group praising in line 5 is the one mentioned in line 4, a group made up of a mixture of angels and humans. Together they praise God, which is an action related to musical performance. After the *vacat* there is a change in the voice from the plural to the singular. If the phrase after the *vacat* is still part of the same song from the previous lines then we have the speaker identifying himself with one of the groups quoted in line 4 (priests, His righteous people, His army). From line 6 it is possible to infer that some kind of performance is described in this psalm. If we consider the whole text of this fragment it is possible to see a division between a more generic outline of the world (up to line 5) and the actions that the speaker should perform with the song (line 6 onwards). Although not clearly connected to evil beings, the passage demonstrates the importance of music in 4Q511.

⁵⁷ Helmer Ringgren, “הלל,” *TDOT* 3: 406.

Hll is preserved in a more fragmentary context in 6Q18 6 5⁵⁸:

1]עליו[]o[]upon him[

2]לפני הד[be]fore [

3]מושלים[those who rule [

4]אמתו ל[]his truth [

5]הלל[]praise God[

The line is heavily damaged, but the two relevant surviving words are הָלֵל and El in paleo-Hebrew. *Hll* is more commonly used with the tetragrammaton or with the short form of the divine name *yāh* (e.g. Ps 115:17; 150:6), and only rarely with Elohim (Ps 44:9[8]).⁵⁹ The use of paleo-Hebrew to write the divine name is found in a number of texts from the DSS.⁶⁰ It is likely that the use of paleo-Hebrew gave a special status to the written piece and to the written name.⁶¹ Tov argues that in some cases it is possible that the act of writing the divine name in paleo-Hebrew was assigned to a particular scribe.⁶² The use of a particular person to write the divine name is a strong indication of a magical purpose in it. Writing can be a magical act. We may consider that the use of paleo-Hebrew for the name of God could represent not only reverence towards the name of the divine being, but also a way to convey God's power into the written text.

⁵⁸ The reference to God is written in paleo-Hebrew also in 6Q18 8 1.

⁵⁹ Ringgren, “הלל,” *TDOT* 3: 408.

⁶⁰ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 239.

⁶¹ Ibid., 263.

⁶² Ibid., 240.

In summary *hll* is a word intrinsically connected to action and its use in the magical texts related to evil beings points to a musical environment of performance for these texts. The examples from 4Q511 35 4-5 (Angel 5 4-5) and 6Q18 6 5 show that the object of *hll* was God or God's name, as is to be expected in Jewish texts. The following subsection moves on to another word related to praise and to vocal actions.

Another word that is often used in parallel to *hll* is גיל. It is possible that it was an “onomatopoetic” word. *Gyl* is connected to the idea of a joyous, spontaneous and enthusiastic cry.⁶³ In 4Q511 1 3-5 (Angel 3 3-5) we read:

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 3 | רוחות ממלטה תמיד יב[רכו]הו בקציהם | spirits of her/its dominion continually they
shall bless him in their times |
| 4 | [י תפארת | הימים וכול חיתם ישמיעו] the seas and all their creatures. Let them
make heard [] the splendour of |
| 5 | כולם יגילו ל אלוהי צדק בר[] ישועות | all of them. They shall rejoice for the God
of righteousness with <i>br</i> [] for/of
salvation |

In line 5 *gyl* is performed “for the God of righteousness”. The following word is not preserved, but it is reconstructed by Baillet as ברנות (exultations, jublations). I chose not to reconstruct it here because the remaining traces of ink are not sufficient to be sure of the reconstruction. Apart from the missing word in line 5, it is possible to understand that *gyl* and the next word are performed for God and for salvation. The timeframe for the rest of

⁶³ Michael Jay Chan, “גיל,” *ThWQ* 1: 602-5.

the text is delimited in line 3 where the times of the “spirits of her/its dominion” are given, times likely connected to the ruling of evil beings. Considering the context the specific way of rejoicing expressed by *gyl* is offered for God as a way to ask for salvation during the period of the “spirits of her/its dominion”.

Rejoicing and exaltation are also repeated in a badly damaged fragment, 4Q511 27. Line 2 reads *ע[ליה יגיל]* (bec)ause of it/ her [they] shall rejoice[)]. It is not clear why they shall rejoice, but since the suffix used is in the third feminine singular it is more likely that it is not a reference to God. Line 3 adds “they exalt” and line 4 has “wickedness”. Considering the vocabulary used in the fragment it is possible that rejoicing and exaltation are protective actions to be performed “because of her” and related to “wickedness”.

Overall praising and rejoicing are directly connected to God in 6Q18 and 5Q11. From the context of the passages it is possible that those were actions to be performed as protective measures in periods of distress and/or periods dominated by evil beings. The strong connection of the terms with actions reinforces the probability of the texts as performative or related to performance in some level.

6.2.2 Psalms

Most of the texts that I am using in my selection are classified as “psalms”. The term psalm has origins in the Greek (*ψαλμός*) which means plucking and/or playing an instrument. The Hebrew term that is often translated as *psalmos* is *נבל*. Importantly in the context of this thesis, *נבל* (*nēḇel*) is likely an onomatopoeic word that refers to a musical instrument.⁶⁴ It is

⁶⁴ Manfred Görg, “נבל,” *ThWQ* 2: 856–57.

probably a portable plucking instrument (1 Sam 10:5), that could be made out of wood (1 Kgs 10:12).

Together with *kinnôr* (lyre) *nēbel* is connected to royal courts (Ps 144:9; Isa 14:11) and with vocal music (e.g. Pss 33:2; 57:8-9; 71:22). They are both called the “instruments of David” (2 Chr 29:25f; cf Neh 12:36) and Josephus mentions a *nábla* and a *kinýra* as the instruments introduced by David (*Ant.* 7.12.3 306). *Nēbel* was used to accompany singing in the Levitical temple orchestra (e.g. 1 Chr 25:6; 2 Chr 5:12ff) and was part of the regular orchestra (e.g. Neh 12:27; 1 Chr 15:16).⁶⁵

It is possible a type of text named “psalm” was meant to be accompanied by instruments at some point, but the evidence is not conclusive.⁶⁶ Psalms are the most common type of composition attested the DSS.⁶⁷ It is not clear how psalms were used in the Second Temple period, but it is likely that they were used both in public and private worship, for praying and for studying.⁶⁸ According to Chazon, some of the psalms from Qumran were used for protection and for expelling evil beings.

The term “book of psalms” is attested in the scrolls, but it differs from the Masoretic Psalter and later definitions of the Psalter. According to Schuller, “Apocryphal Psalms” can designate “any religious poetry that has been preserved from the Second Temple period, apart from the 150 poems that were collected into what became the biblical (Masoretic) Psalter.”⁶⁹ As pointed out above this division is not going to be adopted as standard for this study, since

⁶⁵ Seybold, “נבל,” *TDOT* 9: 173.

⁶⁶ Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, STDJ 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 23.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁶⁸ Eileen M. Schuller, “Psalms,” *EDEJ*: 1105.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

it creates a hierarchy between the texts in the Scroll that does not reflect their uses in antiquity. For example, there is no indication that Psalm 91⁷⁰ would be more important than the others attested in 11Q11.

The existence of a psalm in a manuscript cannot be considered a definitive argument for the complete Scroll being composed exclusively of psalms. There are several examples of texts that attest a mixture of prose and poetry.⁷¹ Pajunen points to the possibility that this is the case in 11Q11, which may also have contained prose.

The form of 4Q510 is also mixed. Nitzan suggests that 4Q510 should be arranged as follows, based on the poetical and prosaic⁷² forms,⁷³ stating:

From a formal viewpoint, the Instructor's (Maskil) statements are arranged as incantations, while the statements of thanks and praise are arranged as thanksgiving and hymns.⁷⁴

In Nitzan's translation and arrangement:⁷⁵

(praise)

(2) The God of Gods, Lord of all the holy ones,

[His] domini[on] is (3) over all the might ones,

and by the power of His might all shall be terrified and shall scatter,

and be put to flight away by the splendour of the exalt[tedness] of the (4)

glory of his realm...

⁷⁰ Psalm 91 appears twice in the DSS, in 11Q11 and in 4Q84.

⁷¹ Pajunen, "How to Expel a Demon," 133.

⁷² Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 346, notes that the text in 1:4-8 is in prose.

⁷³ The arrangement is based on poetic lines and not on the lines of the manuscript, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 240.

⁷⁴ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 239.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 240.

(incantation)

And I, the Instructor, proclaim the majesty of his beauty

to frighten and to terrify] (5) all the spirits of the destroying angels and the

spirits of the bastards, the demons, Lilith, desert howlers and [the yelpers]

(6) they who strike suddenly to lead astray the spirit of understanding

And to appal their heart and their souls] in the age of the dominion of (7)

wickedness.

And the appointed times for the humiliation of the sons of light] in the

guilt of the ages of those smitten by iniquity, not for eternal destruction, (8) [but f]or

the age of humiliation of sin.

(*vacat*)

It is interesting to note that although 4Q510 has elements that can function as incantations against evil beings, its structure is different from the more conventional magical poetry from later periods, which tend to follow the pattern “I adjure you... in the Name of God... Who is great, honoured, mighty”.⁷⁶ In the text in question, the Maskil recites “I... proclaim the majesty of His beauty to frighten... all the spirits”.⁷⁷ The songs themselves are not the adjurations, as often found in magical poetry, but hymns similar to 1QH.⁷⁸ Baillet first recognized the similarity with 1QH,⁷⁹ and in his edition of 4Q510 (and 4Q511) he suggested

⁷⁶ This is a theoretical reconstruction made by Nitzan, 249 based on adjurations from Greek magical papyri, amulets from the Genizah (T-S K 1.127) and from Havdala de-Rabbi ‘Aqiva.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 249–50.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 238.

⁷⁹ Baillet, DJD 7.

that the two compositions are both very likely part of the Hodayot. He further argued that both were probably formed of songs composed by the Maskil to praise God and in order to drive away “evil spirits”. For him, angelology and demonology are characteristic features of the composition.⁸⁰ Both texts could be considered as good examples of how “(...) conventional songs of praise serve a magical purpose, explicitly defined in 4Q510 1:4 and 4Q511 10:1-6”.⁸¹

It is important to note that in 4Q510 the line between exorcistic and apotropaic is not clear-cut due to the fact that the preserved text does not contain any unambiguous phrase suggesting an exorcistic application such as we find in 11Q11 4 1. Most scholars see it as an apotropaic text, though Eshel considers 4Q510 (and 4Q511) as two examples of a group of “exorcistic-like” texts, which also includes 11Q11.⁸² For Nitzan 4Q510, 4Q511 and 11Q11 are all part of a group of “magical texts”, though she does not spell out the reasons for it.⁸³

Another word used to classify texts like 4Q510 is song. The word תהילה appears in 4Q510 1:9:

וְלִישְׁרִים תְּהִלִּי vacat וְלִי [יְרוּמָמוֹ] הָאֵל [ו] לְ
 תְּמִימֵי דֶרֶךְ al[!] those who walk with perfection exalt
 Him!

⁸⁰ Ibid., 215.

⁸¹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 193.

⁸² Eshel, “Genres of Magical Texts in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 395.

⁸³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 15. For more on the selection of the magical texts in this thesis please refer to chapter 2.1.

תהילה derives from the root הלל, which points to a connection to music. The function of the song in 4Q510 is defined by the list of evil beings described in 1:5.⁸⁴ Nitzan points out that other elements of the text would probably not be considered as a form of fight against evil beings if 1:5 had not survived.⁸⁵ On this subject it is important to consider the possibility of non-explicit references to evil beings in texts from Qumran. Incantations similar to 4Q510 occur in Greek magical papyri from the first century CE.⁸⁶ Nitzan also suggests that it is possible that 4Q510 was intended to be proclaimed in public, and I would expand this notion to argue the songs were also performed in a musical context, considering the use of the word תהילה and the connection of it with music. The use of terminology that reflects music is likely not accidental and points to performance, where the song was to be sung, and not just read.

Another word related to music preserved twice in 4Q511 (4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1) and partially at 4Q511 8 4) is שיר (sing, song, singing).⁸⁷

In 4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1) the song is clearly associated with the Maskil:

למשכיל שיר [] For the Maskil a song []

The scroll was named Songs of the Maskil (or Sage) on the basis of this phrase. The name was extrapolated to 4Q510 since the two texts were considered two copies of the same composition. However tempting to interpret all the songs from this scroll as dedicated to or

⁸⁴ Ibid., 173.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 244.

⁸⁶ Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs, *Papyri graecae magicae* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001); Joseph. Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls*.

⁸⁷ Eileen Schuller, "שיר," *ThWQ* 3: 907-11, 909.

produced by the maskil, this is not clear. As argued by Pajunen⁸⁸ texts can have more than one genre, and the existence of references to songs does not determine that only songs were present in this composition.

The songs in 4Q511 were also numbered, but it is not possible to establish how many there were since we only have the reference to the second preserved. In the same passage the function of the second song is very clear, see 4Q511 8 4:

[] a second song to frighten those who
[] terrify (him?) []

The explicit reference to the function of the song is unique in the group of texts analysed in this thesis. It is not completely clear whether those who terrify him are evil beings, but it is likely, as argued in chapter 4.6. The root *hll* is also preserved in 6QHymn 6 5 (6Q18). The context is fragmentary, and *hll* occurs as an imperative, “praise God”.

To sum up, the terminology used in 4Q510, 4Q511 and 6Q18 indicates a strong musical connection, possibly for the use of music to combat the influence of evil beings. They also constitute a record of blessings with apotropaic purpose. This suggests that at least part of the magical texts were musical texts too. The psalms in 11Q11 suggest a similar context of apotropaic use and musical performance. Unfortunately, music is one of the elements that are only hinted at in a purely textual record.

6.2.3 Lyre

A musical instrument is quoted in 4Q511 10 8 (Angel 11 8). The passage has received considerable attention by scholars since it is parallel to 4Q510 1, but כנור is preserved only in

⁸⁸ Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 133.

4Q511. The term כנור is used to refer to a corded musical instrument, the “west Semitic lyre”, “lyre” or “harp”,⁸⁹ which includes many variants. The lyre is the instrument used to “counter chaotic disharmony”, similar to musical instruments in general in Egypt.⁹⁰ The use of the lyre in the HB and in the DSS is often apotropaic.⁹¹

In 4Q511 10 7b-10a (Angel 11 7b-10a) we read,

7b	וְלִישְׂרִים תְּהִלִּי כִּי	<i>vacat</i> [...]	for the god of wonder. For the upright are prayers of k[
8	יְרוּמְמוּהוּ כּוֹל תְּמִימֵי דֶרֶךְ בְּכִנּוֹר יִי	[יְרוּמְמוּהוּ כּוֹל תְּמִימֵי דֶרֶךְ <i>vacat</i> בְּכִנּוֹר יִי]	Let] them exalt him, all those who are perfect of the way <i>vacat</i> with the lyre of y
9	יִפְתְּחוּ פִּיהֶם לִרְחֻמֵּי אֱלֹהִים לְמַנּוֹ	<i>vacat</i> [יִפְתְּחוּ פִּיהֶם לִרְחֻמֵּי אֱלֹהִים לְמַנּוֹ]	[they shall op]en their mouths to God’s compassion. They shall seek his manna
	הוֹשִׁיעָה אֱלֹהִים [יִי]	הוֹשִׁיעָה אֱלֹהִים [יִי]	<i>vacat</i> Save-me, oh Go[d]
	חֶסֶד [יִי] בְּאֵמֶת לְכוֹל מַעֲשָׂיו	[חֶסֶד [יִי] בְּאֵמֶת לְכוֹל מַעֲשָׂיו]	[merc]y in truth for all his works

The word *kinnôr* in line 8 is in the construct, but the next word has not been preserved. It is often reconstructed as “salvation”, based on 1QH^a 19:27. Considering that in the previous line and in the next line the text is centred on the idea of praise, a “lyre of salvation” is a plausible option, especially considering the preserved *yod* and the reference to salvation in line 9. Yet, this word has not been preserved. The lyre is also the instrument that David

⁸⁹ David J. A. Clines, “כנור,” *DCH* 4: 435.

⁹⁰ Gorg, “כנור,” *TDOT* 7: 203.

⁹¹ Jeremy Penner, “כנור,” *ThWQ* 2: 402.

played to free Saul from evil spirits in 1 Sam 16:23, reinforcing the apotropaic symbology associated with the instrument.

Altogether, the terminology discussed above emphasizes the texts' musical and performative elements, see הלל (praise, sing a song of joy) in 4Q511 35 4-6 (Angel 5 4-6) and 6Q18 6 5, תהילה (song) in 4Q510 1:9, and שיר (song) in 4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1), 8 4. While the music itself is not preserved the use of words which reflect musical elements are important clues suggesting the texts were used in musical performance.

6.3 Weaponized Elements

Other than music and the use of blessings and curses, the magical texts related to evil beings show that there were elements that could be weaponized in the fight against evil beings. Most of those elements are already understood as important in other aspects of society, but the selection of texts in this thesis shows that those elements were likely polyvalent, and could be used for more than one purpose.

6.3.1 Fear

Let us begin with the use of fear as a weapon against evil beings. Fear recurs in numerous passages in the magical texts related to evil beings. As discussed in chapter 4.6 above there are various terms that convey ideas semantically related to fear. The following examples will show that *yārē'*, which is particularly connected to the fear of God as a terrible and fascinating force that can be used to express the action of terrifying others. In this case, the feeling of terror caused is more likely connected ultimately to the power the emanates from God. In some cases a third party agent can be involved.

One example of the use of *yārē'* is on 8QHymn 1 1 (8Q5 1 1), which reads as follows:

in Your name []°wr, I terrify and wm '[] בשמכה []°ור אני מירא ומע]

The action of terrifying is likely a performative element. When the speaker “terrifies” others an action is presupposed that is not being described, maybe because it was obvious in the period or because it was secret. Considering that 8Q5 is a written document, it is possible that the action necessary to terrify is related to some performance of the text or even related to the act of producing a copy of it.⁹²

The position of the passage is either near the top margin of the parchment or just after a *vacat*, which indicates that it was the opening statement of a text or a passage. The use of the second person singular suffix in בשמכה is likely a way to refer to God, as discussed in chapter 4.2. If so, the incantation is being pronounced in the name of a divine being, as is common with incantations in later periods.⁹³

Fear is also used as a way to access the tools to fight evil beings in 4Q444, but in this case it also highlights the importance of God in the fight against evil beings. Thus frags 1-4i + 5i 1 read:

1 ואני מיראי אל בדעת אמתו פתח פי ומרוח And I, because of my fearing of God, he
 קודשו°] opened my mouth with His true
 knowledge; and from His holy spirit [

⁹² The possibility of the use of writing as a magical tool in the Dead Sea Scrolls was explored by George J. Brooke, “4Q341: An Exercise for Spelling and for Spells?,” in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard: Essays in Honor of Alan R. Millard*, ed. Piotr Bienkowski, Christopher Mee, and Elizabeth Slater (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 271–82.

⁹³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 244–47.

- 2 אֲמַתְּ לִבִּי [וְלִ] וַיְהִי לְרוּחִי רִיב בַּמִּבְנִיתִי חֹקֶי]י truth to a[l]l[]. They became spirits of
dispute in my (bodily) structure; statute[s]
of
- 3 בְּתִכְמֵי בָשָׂר וְרוּחַ דַּעַת וּבִינָה אֲמַתְּ וְצֶדֶק שֵׁם אֱלֹהֵי] בְּלִי in]blood vessels of flesh. And a spirit
of knowledge and understanding, truth
and righteousness God has placed bl[
- 4 וְהָיָה וְתַחֲזֹק בְּחֻקֵּי אֱלֹהִים וְלֹאֲחֹס בְּרוּחֵי רָשָׁע] [] And strengthen yourself with the
statutes of God, and in order to fight
וְלֹאֲחֹס בְּרוּחֵי רָשָׁע] against the spirits of wickedness, and not [

This passage describes the speaker as someone who fears God and is capable of speaking with true knowledge, which comes directly from God. As explained by Chazon the beginning of line 1 can be read in two different ways. If יִרָא (fear)⁹⁴ is understood as translated above, as a qal participle with the preposition ב and a first person singular pronominal suffix attached to it, it demonstrates that fearing God gives the speaker access to divinely inspired speech described in the words that follow.⁹⁵ “Fearing God” can be a way to express the idea of worshiping God faithfully. This meaning is attested in many passages, such as Prov 1:7; Neh. 1:5-11; 2 Chr 26:5; Ps 86:11, 130:4; Isa 63:17.⁹⁶ In 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 1, “And I, because of my fearing of God”, it is clear that it is this fear of God that empowers the speaker (likely a performer) to deal with evil beings. Chazon also points to another possible translation of the

⁹⁴ David J. A. Clines, “יִרָא,” *DCH* 4: 276.

⁹⁵ Chazon, DJD 29: 374.

⁹⁶ Fuhs, “יִרָא,” *TDOT* 6: 309.

passage in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 1, taking מִירָאִי as a piel participle of יָרָא, with the use of a *yod*

representing a final *tsere*.⁹⁷ On this reading the verb has a causative sense, and a similar

construction can be seen in 8Q5 1 1 and 4Q511 8 4.⁹⁸ The translation of מִירָאִי אֱלֹ would be

“terrifier of God”,⁹⁹ which would imply that the speaker terrifies evil beings.¹⁰⁰

In both possible translations the fear is not what drives away evil beings but is the attribute of the speaker that prepares him to receive God’s gifts (“true knowledge”, “spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness”). *Yārē’* in this case, even related to God, does not denote that those experiencing it are evil beings. Rather, the followers of God are the ones who should “fear” him. Thus, *yārē’* represents a positive aspect, a necessary attribute for protection against evil beings. The speaker is capable of dealing with evil beings, more specifically the “spirits of wickedness” described in line 4, and possibly others.

In line two the speaker makes clear that the “spirits of dispute”¹⁰¹ are in his/her bodily structure. The noun מְבִנִּית is used to represent body structure in 1QH^a 15:4, 9; frag 47 5; and 4QMyst^a 6 i 13.¹⁰² In the case of 4Q444 the first person singular suffix makes it clear that we have here a reference to the first person speaker from line 1. The spirits are clearly at work inside the speaker. Considering that the spirits are not necessarily evil, then their presence in the speaker’s body might be support granted by God to help in the fight against evil beings.

In line 1 God gives the speaker “his true knowledge” and something else that is not

⁹⁷ This is an unusual construction for verbs ending in *aleph*, but is attested in 1QpHab 10 2, see Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. HSS 29 (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).

⁹⁸ Chazon, DJD 29: 374.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ For more details please refer to 4.6.

¹⁰¹ For a more complete analysis on the “spirits of dispute” please refer to chapter 4.5.6.

¹⁰² Chazon, DJD 29: 375.

preserved from his holy spirit. The presence of the two spirits in the body of the speaker can be part of the gifts intended to help in the “fight against the spirits of wickedness”, specified in line 4.

According to Chazon the end of the line 3 can be reconstructed as חוק[ן]י אל (statues of God).

She points that the word חוקים (statutes, laws) also appears in 4Q511 48-9 + 51 4-5 in a very similar context to 4Q444. In both cases it is the internalization of the statutes of God that allow the speaker to properly fight against evil forces.

The reference to the body is reinforced by the next line, where we find the unusual combination, תכמי בשר. The word בשר (flesh) is more frequent and its semantic field is connected with the body itself. תכמים is more uncommon and it can be only found in the DSS. According to Qimron¹⁰³ תכמים can be translate as “blood vessel or blood”, however, he points out that the word is a *crux interpretum*. It appears six times, mostly related to a body part. In 1QS 4:20-21; 1Q36 (1QHymns) 14:2 and in 4Q511 28-29:4, 48-49+51 ii:3 it appears together with “flesh”. In 4Q525 (4QBeatitudes) 13:4 the passage is fragmentary. As noted by Chazon, all the examples where תכמי בשר can be read, it is associated with something evil in that specific part of the body. Considering the dispute described is in the body of the speaker and the reference to an internal part of the body in line 4, the “spirit of knowledge” and the statutes (presumably statutes of God) are the means that enable the speaker to fight the forces of evil, as will become clear below.

¹⁰³ Elisha Qimron, “Qumran Corner: Notes on the 4Q Zadokite Fragment on Skin Disease,” *JJS* 42.2 (1991): 258–59.

8Q5 1 1 and 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 1 are two clear examples of the use of fear as a tool to fight evil beings. The role that fear plays in apotropaic and exorcistic texts emerged already from our analysis of 4Q511 11 4-5 and 121 3 in chapter 4.6, where it is clear that the word *yārē*’ defines a group of evil beings, the ones who terrify. Drawing together the evidence from 4Q511, 4Q444 and 8Q5 reveals the extent of which fear emerges as a vital element in the encounter with evil beings. Fear represents a weaponized element in the fight against malevolent forces in 4Q444 and 8Q5, while it can also represent the evil beings in 4Q511. Moving on to look at other elements that can be weaponized and used in the fight against evil beings, the next section looks into the importance of the statutes of God.

6.3.2 Statutes of God

The statutes of God are another means to protect people, as explicitly stated in 4Q444. Following the laws of God is not only a way to avoid sin; it is an effective way of protection against evil beings. The Torah was used as a form of protection against evil in Second Temple Judaism.¹⁰⁴ In this context 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4 is of interest:

וְיָחֲזֶק אֶתְּךָ בַּחֻקֵּי אֱלֹהִים וּלְהִלָּחֵם בְּרוּחֵי רָשָׁע וְלֹא
]○○ statutes of God, and in order to fight against
○○[the spirits of wickedness, and not

This admonition is in the form of an address in the 2nd person singular, almost like a preparation, a means to teach people how to protect themselves against evil beings. Chazon notes that the speaker could be talking to a client, which implies that the speaker was a specialist.¹⁰⁵ The text recommends that people use the statutes of God as a weapon in the

¹⁰⁴ Kister, “Demons, Theology and Abraham’s Covenant (CD 16:4-6 and Related Texts),” 169.

¹⁰⁵ Chazon, DJD 29: 376.

fight against the “spirits of wickedness”. It is the only preserved attestation of the phrase

לַחֲמוֹתַי בְּחֻקֵּי אֱלֹהִים (statutes of God) in the DSS. Chazon¹⁰⁶ argues that this explicit passage sheds

fundamental light on the fragmentary end of 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2. The line ends with חֻקֵּי

(laws of) and Chazon believes that it should be reconstructed as “laws of God” based on line

4.¹⁰⁷ 4Q511 48+49 +51+53 is reminiscent of the passage in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2. Both passages

read as follows:

4Q511 48+49+51+53 4

בְּשָׂרִי יְסוֹדִי דָּוָה [וב] גִּיּוֹתַי מִלְחָמוֹתַי חֻקֵּי my flesh is the foundation d[and in] my

body battles. Statues of

4Q444 1-4i + 5i 2

אֱמֶת לִבִּי [ו]ל[] וַיְהִי לְרוּחִי רִיב בַּמִּבְנִיתִי חֻקֵּי truth to a[l]l[]. They will be spirits of

dispute in my (bodily) structure; statutes [of

Both passages have a vocabulary strongly connected to what we usually classify as a legal text. This demonstrates how this classification does not necessarily reflect the ancient use of texts. The fluidity of categories is clear, and the passage raises an interesting question. Are the statues of God being used only in a figurative way or do the texts which contain them hold some sort of special power? Chazon argues that considering 4Q444 as a whole, it is possible that:¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

(...)the laws of God are the God-fearer's weapon against the evil spirit in his own flesh (line 3) while his inspired speech (both the hymn in lines 1-4 and the curses in lines 5-8) are directed outwardly against a variety of demons.

This assessment raises the question of how the statutes of God are used as a weapon. If the fight against evil is within the speaker's flesh, just following the laws may be enough to protect the speaker. Accordingly there is a possible connection between the laws of thanksgiving engraved upon the heart of a gifted person and the concept here of internalized laws of God (see 4Q511 63-64 ii 3; 1QS 10:6, 8), according to Chazon.¹⁰⁹ The memorized laws constitute an internal weapon, fortifying individuals against evil.

Another possibility is that the laws, when written or read aloud, would protect a person. On that hypothesis, uttering the laws correctly would offer the protection needed. Furthermore the use of the verb לָחַם (to fight), shows that the struggle against evil beings was as real as any other battle, likely not just in the spiritual world, particularly considering that these two realms were not neatly separated.

The next section describes one more aspect that can be understood as a protective measure against evil beings, knowledge.

6.3.3 Knowledge

In the Second Temple Period, knowledge of God/the Law of God is commonly associated with "anti-demonic" prayers.¹¹⁰ In 11Q11 3 5-8 we come across a group of people with special qualities:

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Angel, "Maskil", 6.

5 וא[ת] כול זר[ע] אשר הִתְּ[י] צְבוּ לִפְנֵי[] ת[]
[] t

6 [] the hea]vens and[] the earth[] who
acte[d]against

7 [] שְׁ חַטָּא ועל כול אֲ[...הֵם יודעים] []
who know

8 או אשר אינם [] ה אם לוא [] w which do not exist [] h If not

The expression “those who know” at the end of line 7 can be a reference to a special group of people, ones with access to a particular type of Knowledge. The beginning of line 7 has a reference to sin and something that is not clear. Based on the previous lines it is possible to reconstruct some kind of trial as the context.¹¹¹

Knowledge is a frequent aspect in 4Q511. It is mentioned in 4Q511 42 7, though it is unclear whether the passage is related to evil beings directly or not. Additionally, it is mentioned in 4Q511 28-29 3 (Angel 7 3), with the passage focusing on the faultiness of humans and their foundation in dust.¹¹² Knowledge is mentioned again in 4Q511 2i 2 (Angel 1 2) reads:

2 קודשו ורוממוהו כול יודעי[] His holiness. All who know [] shall exalt
him

3 זָרוּשׁ מִמְּשָׁלוֹת הַשְּׁבִית לֵאמֹר[] He stopped the head of dominions
without []

¹¹¹ Pajunen identifies this psalm as being a heavenly trial. Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 137–42.

¹¹² For more on *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* please refer to chapter 5.7.

4 [ע]ולמים וחיי נצח לאיר אור [] [e]verlasting and eternal life to cause light
to shine []

5 [ג]ורלו רשית ביעקוב ונחלת אל[והי]ם [] [] His [l]ot is the first in Jacob. And the
inheritance of G[o]d [] [] Israe[l]
[] [] ישרא[ל]

6 [שומ]רי דרך אלוהים ומסל[ת ק]ודשו לקדושי [those who ke]ep the way of God, and the
highw[ay of His h]oliness for the holy ones
[ת] עמו בדע[ת] of His people through the discerning
knowled[ge]

7 [אלוה]ים הנבונה שם [י]שראל [בש]נים עשר of Go[d; He placed [l]srael [in t]welve
ho[l]y camps [] h for Himself
מחנות קדוש[ת] [ה לו]

According to line 2 people who know God can exalt him and in lines 6-7 it is the “discerning knowledge of God” which will give access to the “highway of his holiness”. Here “knowledge” works in a similar way to “fear” in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4, it is the aspect that enables the subject to access God’s attributes that will offer protection against evil beings. In 6Q18 5 3 knowledge is associated with a *ruah*. The passage reads as follows:

[י]חזקו ברוח דעת[ת] [they [shall] hold firmly to the spirit of
knowledge[

The verb חזק (be or grow firm, strong, strengthen) in the third masculine plural indicates the presence of a group of beings that need to “hold firmly to the spirit of knowledge”. It is not clear who they are, but knowledge, here part of the phrase “spirit of knowledge”, is a fundamental characteristic in the passage. As in the previous examples, it is likely a quality that aids against the action of evil beings.

Chapter 6

Knowledge plays a fundamental role in the magical texts related to evil beings. It is not always described directly as a weapon in the battle against evil forces, but similarly to fear in 4Q444 1-4i + 5i 1, it is knowledge that allows the person to access the tools for fighting evil beings and attain protection.

6.3.4 Sword

The use of objects to execute magical actions is attested in modern and ancient magical environments. Objects used in a ritualistic context in other time periods are rarely described in the group of texts I am analysing here. 6Q18 includes a single reference to an instrument, which could be related to magical practices. Frag 11 2 has בחרב (by [the] sword) as the only preserved word. This is likely a reference to something being destroyed by sword, in light of the military language we saw in other passages such as 6Q18 1 6, 4Q511 48+49+51+53:3 (Angel 10 3), 4Q511 35 7 (Angel 5 7), 8Q5 2 4-6 and 4Q510 1 2-3. The object being destroyed by a sword could be an evil being. If this were the case, and considering that an evil being can be human or not, there is a possibility that the sword was a magical object in an apotropaic or exorcistic ritual. However, none of this can be demonstrated securely based on the fragmentary evidence.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter set out to investigate the means for fending off danger in the magical texts related to evil beings. Throughout the chapter it has been made clear that there were at least three main groups of “apotropaic tools” that were available to people in the Second Temple Judaism.

Chapter 6

The first is connected to liturgical and formulaic elements, structures that were already connected to apotropaic and exorcistic magic in other periods. Blessings are to be offered by a group in times of distress in 4Q511 1 1-4 (Angel 3 1-4) and by an individual in 4Q511 63-64ii (Angel 14 2-3). Similarly to blessings, curses are also referred to. Cursing, as a formulaic reference, is used by in 4Q444 1-4i + 5i 5 and 4Q444 6 3. It is also mentioned in 4Q511 11 and 11Q11 4:10.

Adjuring is used as way of protection, and many times of exorcism, in later Aramaic magic texts. The magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran refer to adjuring (ימה) in 4Q560 1ii 6, which preserves an “adjuring” scene in Aramaic. Similarly, 4Q511 35 6 refers to מיראי (adjuring) in Hebrew. The word מיראי (adjuring) is also used in later magical texts with the same function as its Aramaic counterpart. The mention of both ימה and מיראי are evidence that 4Q560 and at least one hymn in 4Q511 are exorcistic texts.

Still within liturgical elements 4Q511 111 9 (Angel 6 9) and 4Q511 63iv (Angel 16) preserve a reference to the formula “amen amen”, and 11Q11 6:14 partially preserves a reference to “amen amen Selah”. This is an indication of oral elements related to a ritual, and it is probable that the text is a record of oral traditions or that it was intended to be performed.

The mention of known powerful figures is another strategy that adds legitimacy and power to the psalms in 11Q11. Solomon, who will be known in later magic as a magician and as having the power of control over evil beings, is mentioned in 11Q11 2:2. Another important Jewish figure connected to the ability of driving away evil spirits is David, who is mentioned

in 11Q11 5:4. In both cases the mention of the names are most likely a way to infuse the text with power.

The second group is related to music. The word רנן (cry for joy) quoted in 4Q511 63iii (Angel 15) refers to an action that is to be accompanied by musical instruments in Ps 81. There are also references to הלל (praise, sing a song of joy) in 4Q511 35 4-6 (Angel 5 4-6), 6Q18 6 5, 4Q511 35 (Angel 5), to תהילה (song) in 4Q510 1:9, and to שיר (song) in 4Q511 (4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1) and 4Q511 8 4. This terminology points to a scenario where music was fundamental. More than that, 4Q511 8 4 makes it clear that at least one particular song was to “frighten those who terrify”. It is safe to extrapolate that music was used as an apotropaic, and maybe exorcistic, measure against evil beings in 4Q511.

A musical instrument is also referred to in 4Q511 10 8 (Angel 11 8). It is possible that it is a reference to a mystical object, a “lyre of salvation”, also mentioned in 1QH^a 19:27. This reinforces the importance of music for apotropaic and exorcistic magic. It is possible that apotropaic magic was performed with music by some Jews in the Second Temple period.

The third group of elements are the aspects that can be “weaponized”. Fear is clearly one of the fundamental aspects in the fight against evil beings. Both 8Q5 1 1 and 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 1 explicitly state that it is the fear that enables the speaker of the text to fight.

What gives the person the strength is fundamental to understand how apotropaic texts work. The statutes of God in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4 are another element that offers the individuals strength. An analogous scenario is described in 4Q511 63-64. Unfortunately, neither of the two examples specify whether knowledge of the statutes of God and

obedience to them was sufficient for protection, or whether writing down the laws imbued them with power.

Having defined the importance of the statutes of God, it is also important to highlight the centrality of knowledge in general. 11Q11 3 5-8 describes a special group that know something which is not preserved, cf. also 4Q511 2i (Angel 1 2). A separate being, a “spirit of knowledge” is mentioned in 6Q18 5 3, reinforcing the importance of knowledge.

Lastly, it is interesting that there is no clear reference of magical objects in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran. The existence of texts with magical content is noteworthy, but there is no clear allusion of why they were written. The absence of references to objects can signify more than one thing. It could be an indication that apotropaic rituals in the DSS were not connected to objects. Another option is that this knowledge was secret and only passed on in oral form, or they were simply not written down. However, the lack of clear connections between objects and magical practices does not exclude the mention of objects. A sword is referred to in 6Q18 11 2, though we do not know whether it was a magical instrument or a demonstration that the fight against evil beings was understood as a military enterprise.

Overall, the magical texts against evil beings present a world of danger, a reality where a person might encounter evil beings at any moment. In such a world a variety of tools and actions can be used for fending off danger. Those were likely applied in everyday situations and some might have been applied in specific moments only. The next chapter traces the elements related to evil beings by texts and demonstrates more clearly the diverse uses of the corpus here analysed.

7 Profile of the Key texts

From the data collected in previous chapters, a number of conclusions are beginning to emerge. This chapter will trace the profile of each manuscript based on the information explored and highlighted in the previous chapters.

Some shared elements between the texts we examined have already been highlighted in chapter 3. Other than general aspects, each of the magical texts related to evil beings have some distinctive features and possibly distinctive uses. The following chapter follows the order of chapter 3, emphasizing the features of each manuscript. We will also outline the profile of each text beginning with active agents, followed by other agents, and finally considering any other particularities that emerge from a particular text.

7.1 Apocryphal Psalms: 11Q11

Many scholars have long classified the collection of texts in 11Q11 as exorcistic.¹ However, this view has been challenged² and the psalms in it could be understood as an oracle of salvation. Regardless of the original purpose of the psalms in 11Q11, the references to evil beings in the text are clear.

7.1.1 Active Agents

Some of the active evil beings in 11Q11 are directly associated with periods of the day in the last preserved column, corresponding to Psalm 91. The passage refers to “the dread of night

¹ Émile Puech, “11QPsAp - un rituel d’exorcismes,”: 377–408; Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms,”; Fröhlich, “Magical Healing at Qumran (11Q11) and the Question of the Calendar”; Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon”, 128–61.

² Jennifer Shepherd, “11Qapocryphal Psalms (11Q11): Structure, Genre and Function” (PhD Diss., University of Manchester, 2005).

or the arrow that flies by day, the plague that rages at [no]on or the pestilence that [in dark]ness proceeds.”³ What we find here are most likely references to types of evil beings that can attack at different parts of day and night. The specifically described dangers are connected to particular times, which indicates that those are moments when people have to be more cautious. The use of different words for each time reference is an indication of the variety of threats associated with specific moments.

The above passage, 11Q11 6:7, is listing different types of evil beings and different times of day and night. Listing can be an attempt of organizing the chaotic realm of evil beings as a way of having control over them.⁴ The variety of moments in the day that can be dangerous is a warning of the moments people should be more vigilant, but also a tool to control as many evil beings as possible. This form of listing associated with time is particular to 11Q11, and shows how attacks can happen at different moments of day and night. Considering the controlling function of listing, 11Q11, particularly Psalm 91, would offer protection for different moments of the day (night, day, noon and darkness⁵). The psalm was probably suitable to be used as an apotropaic aid in any of those moments. The language employed and the text itself is not clear on whether it was used to keep evil beings at bay in threatening circumstances, or whether it was used as a general apotropaic measure or, indeed, was multifunctional and could be used in both situations.

³ 11Q11 6:7 (García Martínez, Tigchelaar, van der Woude)

⁴ Jokiranta, “Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot (4Q286).”

⁵ It is not clear if “darkness” is a synonym for “night” or whether it is a different period of the day. Considering the use in the same line of “day” and “noon” it is possible that “darkness” refers to a particular moment during the night.

Among the magical texts related to evil beings 11Q11 is the only example that uses animal features to describe an evil being (horns 11Q11 5:7), a practice that is attested in descriptions of evil beings known from Mesopotamia.⁶ The reference to “horns of illusion” in 11Q11 5:7 is particularly interesting. The horn is a symbol that will come to be associated with evil beings in later periods, and 11Q11 preserves one of the first references to it. More than just a reference to animal characteristics and to power, the horns are qualified as “horns of illusion”. “Illusion” (חלם) is connected to the realm of dreams and revelation.⁷ In 11Q11 the illusion the horns represent is related to evil, since the same being is also described as “darkness and not light” and “[injust]ice and not justice”. Consequently, the “illusion” is not related to “dreams” or “revelation” in a positive manner, but is more likely referring to the unseen world.

7.1.2 Other Agents

11Q11 refers to evil beings as passive agents in more than one psalm, a characteristic that reinforces the use of the psalms as apotropaic since the positioning of evil beings as passive is a literary form of overpowering the subject (e.g. 11Q11 4:4-12, 5:9-11). Considering the power of representations, the description of evil beings as powerless and subjected to punishment is a way to weaken and take the power from evil beings. 11Q11 4:4-12 preserves the best description from the magical texts related to evil beings of the destruction or suffering of evil beings. The text explicitly mentions that the being will be

⁶ Stefania Maul et al., “Demons,” *BNP*.

⁷ Lorenzo DiTommaso, “חלם” *ThWQ* 1: 988-993.

destroyed (11Q11 4:4), but also notes that it will be sent to “the great deep” (11Q11 4:7) and that it is a punishment to last forever (11Q11 4:10).

The “sons of Belial” are possibly being represented as passive agents in 11Q11 6:3. There is no context preserved, but the reference is found at the end of a psalm,⁸ which points to a passive function since evil beings are more likely to be powerless when quoted at the end of a text.⁹ Considering this, they would be in a passive position, being attacked or destroyed.

The figure of Belial is less prominent in the magical texts related to evil beings and the example from 11Q11 6:3 is the only preserved reference to the “sons of Belial” among the texts.

7.1.3 Other particularities

As stated in chapter 3, 11Q11 is likely a larger collection¹⁰ than the four songs to be sung over the stricken mentioned in 11QPSa 27:9-10.¹¹ However, this does not exclude the possibility that at least one of the songs was attributed to David.¹² Among the magical texts related to evil beings 11Q11 is the only one that mentions powerful figures known from other texts. There are references to Solomon (11Q11 2:2) and David (11Q11 5:4) at the beginning of two different psalms. The association with this type of figure infuses the text and the songs with power. It may be the case that the use of figures known for their power against evil beings¹³ allowed the average person to perform the songs. In this case the power

⁸ For more on the divisions of the psalms in 11Q11 please refer to chapter 3.1.2.

⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

¹⁰ 11Q11 comprised at least five psalms. Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 133.

¹¹ Puech, “11QPSAp -un rituel d’exorcismes.”

¹² In 11Q11 5:4 David is preceded by the preposition ְ which indicates that the next song was either attributed to David or composed in his name.

¹³ Solomon is said to have power over demons and is associated with exorcisms in Second Temple period texts like Josephus *Ant.* 8:45. He is considered a powerful magician in later texts like the Testament of Solomon.

of warding off evil beings originated ultimately from God, but could be channelled through the mention of special known figures.

It is important to highlight that there is the possibility that the same text could be used as apotropaic or as an exorcistic aid. The function of a religious text is defined as much by its content and vocabulary as from the way it is recorded and the way it is performed. In light of this, the same text could be used for more than one goal, depending on the way it was performed. In the example of 11Q11 the use as a daily apotropaic measure could be achieved by the performance of the text by non-specialists. It is not possible to reconstruct what exactly this performance entailed. It is possible that the recitation of the psalms by one person could already have been considered to provide an apotropaic effect. On the other hand, the same text performed by a specialist, possibly accompanied by specific objects or gestures, could be used to exorcise an evil being. As will be demonstrated below this element of multi-functionality was likely not exclusive to 11Q11.

It is not possible to determine the original size of 11Q11,¹⁴ but it measured more than 73 cm in length. There is no indication based on the size or any material evidence that it was used as a personal amulet. However, it is possible that it was used as an apotropaic amulet by virtue of being kept in a building or on a site rather than being used as a personal protective artefact.

David is also connected to the ability of driving away evil beings (1Sam 16:23) and according to 11QPs^a 27:9-10 he composed four songs “to be sung over the stricken”.

¹⁴ For a more complete analysis of the material evidence of 11Q11 please refer to chapter 3.1.

Chapter 7

7.2 4QExorcism ar: 4Q560

4Q560 is the clearest magical text that survived from Qumran. It is the only one in Aramaic and it uses terminology similar to later incantation texts.¹⁵ However, there are characteristics of 4Q560 that are related to the other magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran. The editor notes that it is possible that 4Q560 is composed of more than one text, although it is likely that the preserved fragments were from the same text.¹⁶

7.2.1 Active Agents

The use of the first person singular in many cases presupposes an active agent performing the text. In the case of 4Q560, the use of “I adjure you” in 4Q560 1ii 6 demonstrates that the active agent in this line is the one performing the incantation and it shows that the text could be used for exorcisms.¹⁷ It is possible that the person had to be a specialist to be able to perform an exorcism.

The idea that the intended performer of 4Q560 is a specialized individual is reinforced by the difficult interpretation of the text caused by numerous misspellings. The temptation is to interpret this as the result of the poor work of an unskilled scribe; however, the consistency of the mistakes in lines 3 and 5 suggests it was intentional. Furthermore, there are other examples of magical texts where the writing is scrambled.¹⁸ If the “errors” of 4Q560 were made on purpose, it could be a technique aimed to increase its power.

¹⁵ Naveh, “Fragments of an Aramaic Magic Book from Qumran,”: 252–61; Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub” 627.

¹⁶ Puech, DJD 37: 291.

¹⁷ For more on the importance of “adjure” in exorcisms please refer to chapter 6.1.3.

¹⁸ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 638.

The type of evil beings represented in the text might be a clue to the function of 4Q560. The first noticeable characteristic is that the evil beings are mostly active. 4Q560 1i 3 refers to a pair of female/male evil beings who are described as entering flesh. It is possible that “flesh” here is a reference to meat and evil beings that can spoil food. In 4Q560 1i 5 again a pair of evil creatures, the “male Shrine-spirit and female Shrine-spirit” are described as the ones “who breach”, which can be a reference to breaching a house in a burglary. In both examples, the evil beings are not necessarily related to the body of their victims, but are capable of attacking their possessions. Considering both examples it is possible that the exorcism and/or protection generated by the text was not restricted to humans, but was intended to be effective in a particular place. The content of the manuscript could be used to conduct an exorcism, and the scroll itself could be used as an amulet after the exorcism had been carried out, a way to keep evil beings away after being expelled from the body or place. If so, the original manuscript could function as a form of amulet.

7.2.2 Other Agents

The role of other agents in 4Q560 is not well defined. The “parturient” in 4Q560 1i 1 appears to be the one receiving protection from the text, in a passive position. 4Q560 is the only scroll from Qumran to refer to the dangers of childbirth, a theme that is popular in later magic.¹⁹ The lack of other texts with references to it in the DSS could be a sign of a group composed exclusively by men, or mostly by men, where childbirth is not an issue. It is more likely that the group of people associated with the Khirbet Qumran was not composed

¹⁹ Ibid., 635.

exclusively of men.²⁰ It is also possible that childbirth protection was achieved by the performance of other texts that were not exclusively produced for this purpose at Qumran. In other words, childbirth protection was achieved by the performance of texts that could also be used to support other apotropaic goals.

However important in the text, childbirth is not the only type of danger described in 4Q560. In a similar way to 11Q11, 4Q560 refers to diseases and periods of the day, but 4Q560 1 5 focuses on the night time, likely the period considered the most dangerous.

7.3 4QSongs of the Maskil^a: 4Q510

4Q510 is usually considered a copy of the same text as 4Q511 and is believed to contain the remains of only one song.²¹ As explained above in chapter 3.3 I follow Angel²² and do not agree that 4Q510 is another copy of 4Q511. As also demonstrated in chapter 5.10 it is very likely that 4Q510 1 preserves the end of a song and the beginning of a second song in line 4.

7.3.1 Active Agents

The first song in 4Q510, of which only the four last lines are preserved, has God as the active agent. It is God's might that will "dismay and scatter all" in 4Q510 1 3. Nothing is preserved to identify those being scattered, but they are certainly evil beings, who will "run hurriedly from the glory". The tone of destruction and annihilation of evil beings is consistent with the end of a song that could be used for protection.²³ The focus on the destruction of evil beings

²⁰ Eileen M. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*. ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam. Vol. 2. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 117–44; Tal Ilan, "Women in Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls" *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: OUP, 2010), 123–47.

²¹ Fröhlich, "'Invoke at Any Time..."; Wright, "Prayer and Incantation in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 75–88.

²² Joseph L. Angel, "The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511)".

²³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

is here used firstly as a narrative tool, which helps the person reading learn and be reassured that it will happen. Secondly, it can be a magic tool, the wording being the thing that creates the effect described in the text if the correct rituals are accompanying it.

Another active agent in 4Q510 1:4 is a maskil, who proclaims his role in a first person speech, “And I am the/a maskil, who makes known His glorious splendour so as to frighten and to te[rri]fy”. In this case the maskil is clearly the specialist required for the performance of the song, and also the one who will bring fear and terror. The maskil is “the terrifier”, the human capable of keep evil beings at bay.

7.3.2 Other Agents

Evil beings are not portrayed as active agents in 4Q510. They are recorded in a list which draws inspiration from a similar list in Isa 34:14. As described before, lists are a way of organizing the chaotic world of the evil beings.²⁴ By doing so the power over the evil beings listed is handed down to the person performing the song.

The evil beings are non-personalised figures. Their powers and type of damage caused are also not described. Rather, the focus is on the categories they represent (spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers and [...]those which fall upon men without warning). Some of the types of evil beings are mentioned in other texts, such as the “demons” which occur also in 11Q11 2:3 and “those which fall upon men” in 4Q511 11 and possibly in 6Q18 4 3. However, the “spirits of the destroying angels” occur only in 4Q510. This is also the only reference in the DSS where the words “spirit” and “angel” are found together.

²⁴ Chapter 4.8 and Jokiranta, “Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot (4Q286),” 455.

Chapter 7

7.3.3 Other Particularities

It is not possible to determine the original size of 4Q510, but the scroll comprised columns of 9 lines.²⁵ If so, the original scroll was not much taller than 12 cm, possibly portable, and likely smaller than 4Q511.²⁶

7.4 4QSongs of the Maskil^b: 4Q511

4Q511 is the best-preserved collection of apotropaic songs from the DSS.

7.4.1 Active Agents

Many of the active agents in 4Q511 are identified in a first person discourse. Some passages are framed as a first person singular address whereas others refer to communal settings.

This indicates that some songs might have been performed by an individual whereas a group was expected to perform others.

One reference in the first person in 4Q511 28-29 3-4 (Angel 7 3-4) is to an individual who describes himself as “I was formed from spittle, moulded of clay and from darkness kneaded [] and injustice in the bowels of my flesh”. The reference is to an individual who proclaims his own nature, while informing us that the material he was created from was darkness, which is usually a characteristic related to evil beings. However, earlier in line 3 the same individual is portrayed as saying, “You have put knowledge in my foundation of dust”, so it is more likely that the description of the formation of the individual from “darkness” and

²⁵ Daniel K. Falk, “Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,” in *Literature or Liturgy? Early Christian Hymns and Prayers in Their Literary and Liturgical Context in Antiquity*, ed. Clemens Leonhard and Hermut Löhr (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 33-87, 72–73.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 72.

“injustice” is part of a *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*.²⁷ The connection with the/a maskil makes it possible that the song in 4Q511 28-29 3-4 (Angel 7 3-4) was also ascribed to this figure.

The variety of voices in the songs from 4Q511 is an element that is often overlooked, as the name of the scroll demonstrates. The importance of the maskil in other scrolls from Qumran²⁸ possibly led to the choice of the title “Songs of the Maskil” for 4Q511, which suggests identifying all the songs in the Scroll as ascribed to this figure. It is likely that the original manuscript included different types of songs, not only those associated with a maskil. There is one specific heading in 4Q511 2i 1-2 (Angel 1 1-2) telling us that this particular song is for a maskil, but there is no other indication that this is the case for all other songs in 4Q511.

In 4Q511 we also find descriptions of evil beings in an active position who are being characterized as inciting fear. Fear is a key concept in 4Q511, and it is referred to with two terms, *yārē’* and *paḥad*. *Yārē’* in the piel is used to describe evil beings in 4Q511 8 4; 11 5 and 121 3. In 4Q511 111 6-7 (Angel 6 6-7) it is less clear whether *yārē’* is being used to describe the same group of evil beings or whether it is being used to describe what will happen to evil beings in the presence of God or God’s agents. Still in the semantic realm of fear, 4Q511 8 4 uses *paḥad* to describe what will happen to “those who terrify”, demonstrating that in this song fear related to God is defined by the verb *paḥad* and fear caused by evil beings by *yārē’*. Elsewhere in the DSS *paḥad* is used to express a variety of

²⁷ Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil*, 27–29. For a fuller discussion of the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* found here see 5.7 above.

²⁸ The term “maskil” appears 39 times in the non-biblical Scrolls. Martin Abegg, James Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, Volume 1* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 498. For an account of all the maskil references in the non-biblical texts see Hempel, *The Qumran Rule Texts in Context*, 239; For more on the role of this figure refer to Newman, “Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture”; and Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511).”

types of fear, and it is one of the words²⁹ used to describe the period of time ruled by Belial (1QS 1:17). Other than those two words, 4Q511 also uses *bhl* to describe someone who is “terrified and hurries” in 4Q511 37 5 (Angel 4 5), similarly to 4Q510 1 3, but there the subject is scattered and not running.

From the passages in 4Q511 where fear is portrayed with enough context it is possible to extrapolate that *yārē*’ in 4Q511 was understood as a characteristic of evil beings, a type of feeling they provoked and also a way to define them. *Paḥad*, on the other hand, was a concept more related to the act of keeping evil beings away, in this case fear is used as a weapon against evil beings. Fear as a weapon against evil beings is a characteristic that is found also in 4Q444, as described below.

7.4.2 Other Particularities

In a similar way to 4Q510, 4Q511 also mentions a maskil as a figure of authority. However, in 4Q511 2i 1-2 (Angel 1 1-2) it is clearly stated “For the/a maskil a song”, likely a heading for the following text. In this case, the song is directed to a maskil, but he is not speaking in the first person of being instructed to perform the song in as is the case in 4Q510 1:4. Rather, the verbs that follow are in the third person plural.

Music is another element of importance in 4Q511. There is a wealth of terms that are related to musical performance and musical instruments that are repeated throughout the songs. In 4Q511 we find רנן (cry for joy) in 4Q511 63iii (Angel 15); הלל (praise, sing a song of joy) in 4Q511 35 4-5 (Angel 5 4-5); תהילה (song) in 4Q511 35 (Angel 5); שיר (song) in 4Q511

²⁹ The rule of Belial in 1QS 1:17 is defined by *paḥad* and *’emah*.

(4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1) and 4Q511 8 4). It is clear that 4Q511 contained some of the songs used as apotropaic aids during the Second Temple Period. This is explicit in 4Q511 8 4, which states that this one particular song had the function to “frighten those who terrify”, clearly presenting the role of musical performance as an apotropaic tool.

4Q511 also mentions a specific type of lyre in 4Q511 10 8 (Angel 11 8), demonstrating that apotropaic songs were not only sung, but could also be accompanied by certain instruments. It is possible that some of the songs could be sung on a daily basis at particular times or serve as an aid in a moment of distress. The use of music and musical elements for apotropaic and exorcistic purposes is one of the areas that deserve to be analysed in further research.

Another form of protection against evil beings in 4Q511 is the uttering of blessings and curses.³⁰ Blessings are used specifically in times of distress, as a communal action in 4Q511 1 1-2 (Angel 3 1-4) and as a personal action in 4Q511 63-64ii (Angel 14 2-3). The personal use could be connected to a performance by a specialist or as a protection that can be used by any individual. Curses in 4Q511 are not formulaic, but are described in 4Q511 11.

The scroll itself was likely over 2 meters long comprising at least 16 columns, each with at least 25 lines with a height of about 17.5 cm.³¹ It was certainly not produced to be a portable text, and was likely a kind of compendium or a study text. The regular writing points to a skilled scribe. If so, the larger size suggests a text that was not used as an amulet. 4Q511 was much more likely a text produced to be read and studied.

³⁰ For more on blessings and curses see chapter 6.1.1 and 6.1.2.

³¹ Angel, “The Material Reconstruction of 4QSongs of the Sage^b (4Q511),” 28.

7.5 8QHymn (8Q5)

8Q5 is only fragmentarily preserved, and it is not possible to offer any estimates about its original size based on the two fragments.

7.5.1 Active Agents

In the first preserved sentence of fragment 1 we read of the speaker of the song terrifying something in the name of another being, likely God, “[] in Your name []°wr, I terrify and [“. It is unlikely that a psalm would quote an evil being in the first person, terrifying someone. In consequence, the active agent terrifying is likely a benevolent being that is acting in the name of God.

Fear is a key concept in 8Q5. *Yārē’* in line 1 is used as the characteristic of the performer of the text, someone who is performing the text in the name of God and, by performing the psalm, terrifying an evil being. This use of *yārē’* as connected to divine actions or influence is familiar from the HB.³²

The one terrifying evil beings in line 1 is likely someone with a specific function or ability to fulfil this role. The capacity to terrify demanded some type of specialization or authorization to deal with evil beings. There is no indication in the psalm of what was expected of this role. It is possible to speculate that the function of a “terrifier” was related to other abilities or functions. The likely necessity for specialization of the person performing the text and the use of the first person are indications that the text could have been used in an exorcism. However, it is also possible that it had a double function, as an apotropaic text for daily

³² Fuhs, “יָרָא” TDOT 6, 296.

recitation and as an exorcistic text when performed by a specialist, as other texts analysed here.

Another particular characteristic of 8Q5 is the use of the concept of light. 8Q5 1 3 refers to a group responsible for making the light of someone disappear, likely the light of the man referred to in the previous line. Fragment 2 preserves another fragmentary reference to something ceasing (probably again a 2 m. pl. hiphil since the 2 p. prefix is preserved). It is likely, therefore, that we have in fragment 2 a continuation of the scene from 8Q5 1 3. It is not clear what “causing the light to cease” means, but considering the word is in the 2 plural and since light is used in connection to good and to God it is likely that this is a description of the fate of a group of evil beings.

Other than in this passage, evil beings are not clearly referred to in what remains of 8Q5. In 8Q5 2 6 there is a reference to “spirits facing you”, likely spirits facing God. Those spirits could be evil ones being judged by God, but they could also be benevolent ones present in a heavenly scene.

In sum, 8Q5 includes the remains of at least one text intended to be performed by a specialized individual, possibly in an exorcistic scenario. It is intended to be used against evil beings capable of diminishing and extinguishing someone’s light. Beyond this it is not clear what this action entailed.

7.6 4QIncantation 4Q444

4Q444 is usually classified either as an incantation or under the label of magic, with hymnic characteristics.³³

³³ Chazon, DJD 29: 368–71; Lange and Mittmann-Richert, DJD 39: 143.

7.6.1 Active Agents

4Q444 can be divided in two parts, part one is a hymn in column i 1-4 and part two is a list of curses from i 5-11.³⁴ The first is a more personal text, aimed to be performed by one individual and the second has a collective use. It is possible that it was intended to be performed in a liturgical context, with a specialist being responsible for the first part and more voices contributing in the second part.

The character of the specialist is delimited by the concept of fear in 4Q444 1-4i + 5i 1. The agent fears God, and it is this fear that enables power to be channelled and used against evil beings.³⁵ The same passage could also be translated as “the terrifier of God”, a role more similar to the one referred to in 8Q5 as a specialist “terrifier”. The main difference is that in 4Q444 the way that fear brings the power of God to the active agent is clearer.

The specialist is someone who has access to “true knowledge” of God (4Q444 1-4i + 5i 1), and someone who is in possession of a “spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness”. Furthermore, the text clarifies that the “statutes of God” are to be used by individuals to acquire strength to fight evil beings. This characteristic is particular to 4Q444. How the statutes of God are to be used for protection is not specified. It can imply that knowing and following the laws of God is what gives people strength to resist evil. It can also imply that the laws by themselves have an apotropaic function, possibly the written laws. The use of law as an apotropaic aid is an aspect that needs additional research.

³⁴ Chazon, who believes that the second part of the text, starting on line 5, is a series of curses, proposes this division. Chazon, DJD 29: 368–69.

³⁵ The word used to represent fear is *yārē*. In this case *yārē* is a positive attribute, it is a characteristic associated with God and not an element connected to evil beings. In this sense 4Q444 is closer to 8Q5 and to the most common meaning of *yārē* in the HB than the idea represented by the word in 4Q511.

The body of the performer is also central to the narrative. In 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2–3 (Col. I 2–3) the body is the battlefield for “spirits of dispute”. It is not clear which spirits are disputing in the body of the speaker, but the influences from evil and internal conflict is a theme that can also be found in 1QS 3:21–23.³⁶ However, the types of spirits that are disputing within the body of the performer operate in the “blood vessels of flesh” (4Q444 1–4i + 5i 3) – a description that gives materiality to the threat of the evil beings. Evil is not only in the realm of the unseen, it affects the body and is palpable.

The second part of 4Q444, starting in line 5 after a *vacat*, refers to a curse. The curse is part of a direct address and follows the *’ārûr*-formula, common in the HB.³⁷ The designation for the evil being that is being cursed is not preserved but the curse is likely being used to keep it away. The use of curses indicates both an active agent, the one cursing, and a passive agent, the one being cursed. In 4Q444 6 3 (Col. I 5–8) the evil being cursed is in the feminine, and it is possible that it is the same evil being that is responsible by the dominion in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 7 (Col. I 7).

The other possible active agent in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 7 is a feminine singular figure that has dominion over something that is not preserved. The feminine singular suffix could also be referring to a feminine noun, “wickedness” or the “spirit of wickedness” from lines 4 and 8.³⁸ Either way the reference to “until the completion of her/its dominion” introduces a clear eschatological and temporal mark. The use of “until the completion” shows that the present

³⁶ Chazon, DJD 29: 375.

³⁷ Lawrence H. Schiffman, “ארר”, *ThWQ* 1: 302–306; Scharbert, “ארר”, *TDOT* 1: 408.

³⁸ Chazon, DJD 29: 377.

time is the time of dominion of this feminine being or the dominion of a non-personalized “wickedness” which will come to an end.

7.6.2 Other Agents

The other agents of 4Q444 are evil beings represented in passive positions, like the “spirits of wickedness” in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4. The passage states that those spirits are to be fought against and those engaging the spirits of wickedness are instructed to gather strength from the statutes of God. As mentioned above, it is not clear how the statutes of God are to be used.

Another spirit represented in 4Q444 is the “spirit of impurity” in 4Q444 1:8, which occurs in a fragmentary context making it impossible to determine its role. However, the references to the “spirit of impurity”, suggest a specific type of impurity, possibly related to sexual misconduct.

7.6.3 Other Particularities

As for the size of manuscript, this is the most unusual one. The writing blocks are composed of 4 lines each and stitched together with vertical and horizontal stitching. It is the only manuscript with this format in the DSS.³⁹ It is not possible to determine the original size of the manuscript, but if it was a portable artefact it could have been used for personal protection. It is also possible that the unusual stitching was a magical element,⁴⁰ part of a ritual to infuse it with power.

³⁹ Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 35.

⁴⁰ Chazon, DJD 29: 368.

7.7 6QpapHymn (6Q18)

A few elements are exclusive to 6Q18. The text is the only one from the group analysed in this thesis that is written on papyrus. The reason for the use of papyrus in Qumran has led to a series of proposals from scholars, and a single solution is unlikely.⁴¹ In the case of 6Q18 it is possible that the choice of papyrus was based on a number of factors, as remarked by Brooke, as "the result of individual agency in a wider social context."⁴² These could include magical significance of some sort, but there is no clear indication of the association of papyrus and magic in the DSS.

7.7.1 Active Agents

Some of the actions portrayed in 6Q18 are connected to musical performance. In 6Q18 6 5 the word הלל (praise, sing a song of joy) is likely a 2. m. sg. impv piel, demonstrating an action to be taken by a benevolent agent. The action indicated by הלל is related to music, and it is possible that part of 6Q18 was performed as a song. Furthermore, 6Q18 1 7 uses the onomatopoeic word הוי (woe), which indicates a strong connection with voice and vocal performance.

Still considering the active agents, 6Q18 2 4 mentions the "d]arkness of ou[r] (single minded) devotion", which is likely a confessional element that forms part of a repentance scene. Again, the active agents from this passage are not preserved, but considering the plural used we seem to be dealing with a group of beings, possibly humans. The confession and the act

⁴¹ George J. Brooke, "Choosing Between Papyrus and Skin: Cultural Complexity and Multiple Identities in the Qumran Library," in *Jewish Cultural Encounters in the Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern World*, ed. Mladen Popović, Myles Schoonover, and Marijn Vandenberghe (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 119-35, 119-20.

⁴² For a discussion of the complexity of the choice for papyrus please refer to Brooke, "Choosing Between Papyrus and Skin," especially 135.

of recognizing the frailty of human nature are elements that make the group accountable for its mistakes. After recognizing their errors, it is usually possible to start again to follow the right path and consequently gain protection by God.⁴³

It is not possible to determine how many psalms there were in 6Q18, but the language used in the scroll, in some cases for active agents, is often communal (“our congregation” in 6Q18 14 2 and “they shall not come to an end” in 6Q18 5 4). This suggests that at least one portion of 6Q18 was intended for communal use and dealing with a collective, a group. Assuming that not necessarily all the groups represented are the same, at least one group refers to itself as “our congregation” in 6Q18 14 2.

7.7.2 Other Agents

Other than collective references 6Q18 includes some references to individual elements, like “upon him” in 6Q18 6 1 and “upon you” in 6Q18 14 3. The individual references are mostly connected to a passive role, so it is possible that they are referring to people threatened or under the influence of evil beings. Furthermore, we also find a reference to a group of beings (“upon us” in 6Q18 8 3) that qualifies as passive. To “befall” someone is a characteristic of evil beings in 4Q510 1 6 and in 4Q511 11, so it is possible that what is described by the prepositional phrases “upon him/you/us” is also connected to evil beings. However, it is important to notice that the references to upon “us” in 6Q18 14 2, and upon “him” in 6Q18 6 1 and upon “you” in 6Q18 14 3 are allusions to the type of evil being that can fall upon human victims, similarly to the ones described in 4Q510 and 4Q511. If this is

⁴³ See, e.g., Jer 4:14, Hos 5:15.

the case, we learn that in 6Q18 this particular type of evil being could be a threat to an entire community (“us”).

7.7.3 Other particularities

6Q18 refers to evil beings in a less clear way than the other texts examined in this study. It clearly preserves “by Belial” in 6Q18 3 3, but there is no context left. In another fragment there is a mention of M/mastemah (6Q18 9), but since this is the only word preserved in the fragment it is not possible to determine whether it is referring to an evil being or to the noun meaning “adversity”.

A benevolent force is referred to as the “spirit of knowledge” in 6Q18 5 2. *Ruah* is also preserved by itself in 6Q18 21 2, but considering the other use in the same scroll and the fact that it can represent malevolent or benevolent beings, there is no cause to believe that it is a reference to a malevolent spirit.

Another feature of 6Q18 is that לַא is written in Paleo Hebrew. From other examples in the DSS it is clear that the use of Paleo-Hebrew expresses reverence to the name of God,⁴⁴ but it is possible that it had other meanings. The use of paleo-Hebrew for God in a text related to evil beings could be a way to infuse the text with magical force. This and the use of papyrus are both indications that this scroll may have been used in a different way from the other magical texts related to evil beings.

Another remarkable characteristic of 6Q18 is the importance of knowledge expressed in the phrase the “spirit of knowledge”⁴⁵ in 6Q18 5 3 mentioned above. In the passage a group,

⁴⁴ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 239.

⁴⁵ “Spirit of Knowledge” is also referred to in 1QH^a 14:25, 1QSb 5:25, Job 15:2, Sir 39:6. Baillet affirms that it is one of the gifts of the messiah. Baillet, DJD 3: 134.

which is not preserved in the scroll, is to hold firmly to this particular spirit. Holding to the “spirit of knowledge” could have an apotropaic function, and it is likely that knowledge was understood in relation to God.

In 6Q18 11 2 there is a reference to a sword, possibly part of the overall military scenario, but also possibly a magical artefact. The protection obtained with the performance, likely musical, of 6Q18, was possibly understood as part of an ongoing battle against the forces of evil, a military incursion against those beings.

As mentioned above, the material of 6Q18 is papyrus, and it is the only magical text related to evil beings written on papyrus. A small number of DSS preserved are written on papyrus, and this is a material that elsewhere in the Judean Desert is used for documentary texts.⁴⁶

The choice of papyrus, a more expensive and difficult material to find when skin was locally available, is most likely a deliberate decision.⁴⁷ This decision could be informed by a variety of social and individual elements, as pointed out by Brooke.⁴⁸ Nothing in the content or physical structure of 6Q18 suggests a distinct type of ritual or magic connected to the material. In comparison with the other texts in the same group analysed here, the distinctiveness of the papyrus is not reflected in many elements of the content. Other than demonstrating a necessity for one type of material, the papyrus example of a magical text shows that apotropaic magic could be written on more than one type of material.

⁴⁶ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 44.

⁴⁷ Brooke, “Choosing Between Papyrus and Skin: Cultural Complexity and Multiple Identities in the Qumran Library,” 132.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 135.

7.8 Conclusion

Considering the seven magical texts related to evil beings and their specificities, some aspects should be highlighted. The terminology connected to apotropaic magic is more often connected to concepts of law (4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4; 4Q511 48+49+51+53 4), knowledge (11Q11 3 7; 4Q511 42 7, 28–29 3 (Angel 7 3), 2i 2 (Angel 1 2); 6Q18 5 3), recounting of God’s good deeds (4Q511 1 4 (Angel 3 4), 15 6) and music (4Q511 63iii (Angel 15), 35 4–5 (Angel 5 4–5), 35 (Angel 5), 2i 1 (Angel 1 1), 8 4; 6Q18 6 5, 1 7) than to cure (11Q11 2 7) and protection. The focus of the material is on recounting the benefits that those who follow God have rather than referring to the myriad of evil beings that can attack or the effects each evil being can have on the person.

The above overview on the magical texts related to evil beings shows that in addition to much better known sectarian liturgical events, such as the covenant ceremony in the Community Rule, there is evidence of apotropaic rituals in the DSS. There is no reason to believe that these rituals were particular to the movement behind the Scrolls. While some of the language corresponds to terminology sometimes classified as “sectarian”, like *maskil* in 4Q510 and 4Q511, nothing singles out these practices as restricted to a particular group. It is possible that the use of magic as an apotropaic measure was widespread and popular, but not always recorded in written form let alone preserved for us to read.

Written prayer is a feature in the DSS that is not followed through in later rabbinic Judaism.⁴⁹

It is likely that there was more than one reason for writing prayers. A marginalization of spontaneous prayer and a need to “control verbal interaction with the divine” are possible

⁴⁹ Schuller, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59.

reasons for scripturalization.⁵⁰ Much work has been done on the process of writing prayers in the Second Temple Period. Committing prayers to writing is considered part of an institutionalization of prayers, as explained by Newman.⁵¹ Collins also notes that the writing of prayers “standardizes” them,⁵² creating a more fixed model to be followed. However, the Scrolls attest to the beginning of this process, still witnessing a period where prayer is not yet fixed.⁵³ It is important to consider that “prayer” is a label that incorporates more than one type of religious act and a variety of religious experiences in the Second Temple Period which does not allow for a fixed model of prayer.

According to Nitzan reading a prayer from a scroll may be implied⁵⁴ in the instruction found in Baruch 1:14 “And you shall read aloud this scroll”. The scroll as physical object is important in the passage as part of the ritual that is described. The physical object that contains the prayer is also important for its effectiveness. The same may not be true for all prayers, but the importance of the written should be considered.

However, the physical characteristics of the magical texts related to evil beings are not exclusive to this group. For Falk this lack of exclusivity is an indication that the process of writing the Scrolls itself was not infused with magical significance.⁵⁵ In his overview over the physical characteristics of this particular group of texts he points out that 4Q510, 4Q511, 6Q18, 11Q11 and 8Q5 are likely the work of professional scribes, and that there is nothing in

⁵⁰ George J. Brooke, “Scrolls and Early Judaism,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. George J. Brooke and Charlotte Hempel (London: T&T Clark, forthcoming).

⁵¹ Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism*, SBLEJL 14 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

⁵² John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 85.

⁵³ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 44–45.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁵⁵ Falk, “Material Aspects of Prayer Manuscripts at Qumran,” 74.

them that indicates special preparation. I believe that this assertion can be challenged if we consider that it is possible that a professional scribe was in charge of producing a scroll that was also infused with magic. It is important to remember that many elements of magic are ephemeral, such as positioning of hands, words pronounced, etc. The lack of inscribed clues to magical practice does not necessarily exclude the magical force of an artefact or performance.

Another aspect of the production of scrolls by professional scribes is that the person authorized to perform magic would have been a highly specialized individual, and if so it is not odd that a high degree of professionalism characterises the production of the magical texts. An example of a text that is likely an exercise in magic by a scribe, 4QExercitium Calami C (4Q341), further reinforces the idea that professionally made manuscripts can also be magical manuscripts.⁵⁶ Still, both points are hard to prove due to the fragmentary state of the evidence and the lack of information on many other aspects of the scrolls (e.g. is the black ink used in this group any different from the black ink for other scrolls?).

Considering, for example, the importance of the “statutes of God” in the fight against evil beings, it is possible that texts that we do not consider imbued with magical power were used as magical artefacts. If so, the common features that the magical texts related to evil beings share with other texts may reflect shared magical elements rather than a non-magical characteristic of those seven scrolls.

It is likely that magic was an underlying element, something that coexisted with other functions of texts. A scroll could be used for study as well as be important as an apotropaic

⁵⁶ Brooke, “4Q341: An Exercise for Spelling and for Spells?,” 271–82.

artefact. Such multiple uses are also possible for the purposes of texts. 11Q11, 8Q5 and 6Q18 can be understood and used as apotropaic texts in one context and as exorcistic in another. The performance of a text by an authorized and powerful person was likely one of the elements that differentiated its functions and reach.

Another frequent aspect is the importance of music in apotropaic magic and exorcisms, referred to explicitly in 4Q511 8 4. The songs in 4Q511 and 6Q18 were not restricted to recitation, but were performed by singing and likely accompanied by instruments like the lyre.

Fear is another key element in the fight against evil beings and is represented by two words: *yārē'* and *paḥad*. While *paḥad* is used to represent what will strike evil beings in 4Q511 8 4-5 and in 4Q510 1 4, *yārē'* has a more nuanced use. In 4Q511 *yārē'* is used to represent the actions of evil beings, while in 8Q5 and 4Q444 it is used to describe what will happen to evil beings, a use closer to the uses of *yārē'* in the HB.

It is possible that 4Q560 is the only scroll from the DSS with the exclusive function of an exorcism, or at least it is the only text that uses the formula "I adjure you" in 4Q560 1ii 6. If so, it is plausible that in this context exorcisms and texts exclusively used in exorcisms were performed in Aramaic while apotropaic daily magic was more common in Hebrew.

Expanding this and considering the lack of references to music in 4Q560 it is also possible that apotropaic music was composed and used (mainly) in Hebrew, while the type of magical text attested by 4Q560 is not related to musical performance.

8 Conclusion

This thesis looked into a variety of texts dealing with issues of protection from evil beings and magic from different perspectives. The one unifying aspect – their discovery at and near Qumran – is complemented by a series of further common aspects. Among those, the uncertainty of the context in which they were used and why they were stored in the caves is also shared. In the preceding chapters I explored many passages of the magical texts related to evil beings and from the data was able to observe some major trends, some unexpected. The pages below draw together the main findings and trends observed.

8.1 Questions of Terminology

While a common terminology to refer to evil beings is “demons”, the variety of phenomena attested in the texts from Qumran made necessary requires further reflection. I chose “evil being” as the standard term in this thesis, since it does not direct the eye to the many characteristics associated with “demons” in our society. The other term that also needed attention in chapter 1 was magic. The term proved useful for this research since it incorporates aspects of liturgy and ritual, but is more fluid and capable of including more categories of analysis. Magic is a term that was likely not used by the ancient practitioners to define their own practice. Nor is it defined by what was forbidden. Magic refers to practices that use supernatural forces (such as a divine support) and aim to affect the physical and spiritual worlds. The term also helped me to perceive the practices described in the corpus examined in this thesis within a context of a world that is infused with natural and supernatural forces, and where this division is not always clear.

Conclusion

8.2 Methodological Approach

The inductive methodology with its focus on the new data, as outlined in chapter 2, allowed me to scrutinize the texts without prejudice. To this end it was my practice to keep any reconstruction to an absolute minimum in most cases. I am aware that the resulting picture remains incomplete based on the fragmentary nature of our evidence base. I am also aware that the silence of the texts – as far as we are able to determine it – about some aspects is also worth acknowledging with due caution. I will now outline the main conclusions in conversation with the research questions that formed the starting point of the research.

8.3 Profile of the Corpus

Chapter 3 was dedicated to understand the texts that were chosen for this thesis and included a physical description of each text. The copies of the of seven texts date from 75 BCE to 68 CE. As a general profile all but one of the apotropaic magic in the DSS is written in Hebrew evidently by well-trained scribes, considering the regularity of the scripts and the small number of misspellings. An exception is 4Q560, which is in Aramaic and possibly has intentional grammatical errors, similar to later magical texts.¹ Overall the languages in which magic related to evil beings were composed included Aramaic for texts more clearly exorcistic and Hebrew for apotropaic texts and for texts with multiple functions, apotropaic and exorcistic, as well as for magical texts in the form of prayers.

8.4 Active Agents

A key aspect of the group of texts examined in this thesis are the active agents depicted. Chapter 4 starts by discussing my proposed division into active/other agents to analyse this

¹ Penney and Wise, "By the Power of Beelzebub," 638.

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particular group of texts. We also note that the distinction between otherworldly and human agents is often blurred, either intentionally or due to the fragmentary state of the texts. The active category allows for the focus of the analysis to be on the role played by each character, rather than their nature. We note that many of the characteristics contemporary readers might have expected in the texts such as detailed physical descriptions of evil beings, or even a clear differentiation of the spiritual and material worlds, are not available from the accounts.

It is possible to divide the active agents into two main groups, benevolent and malevolent. In some examples even this basic division was not possible due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts. Consequently the analysis is focused mostly on the better preserved references.

8.4.1 Benevolent Active Beings

For many of the benevolent active beings the line separating humans and otherworldly beings cannot be drawn with certainty. This ambiguous portrayal might be intentional to give expression to a sense of communion between both humans and angels (see, e.g., 4Q511 2i 6 (Angel 1 6)) that is expressed in a number of texts from Qumran (e.g. 1QHa 19:12; 1QSb 4:23).² References to holy ones could be applied to humans, angels or to a mixture of both. A similar vagueness on the otherworldly or human nature of agents is found in the term “mighty of strength” in 4Q510 1 2-3 and in the “servants of THE LORD” in 11Q11 3:11. Additionally there are “spirits” that belong to the benevolent group of beings, as is the case with the “spirits of understanding” from 4Q510 1 6. Similarly in 6Q18 5 3, 4Q511 5 3 and

² Mach, “Angels”, EDSS 1: 25.

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4Q444 1–4i + 5i 3 note that holding fast to the “spirit of knowledge” is fundamental for protection against evil beings.

Further examples of active benevolent beings are undoubtedly humans, as is the case with the “righteous man” in 11Q11 5:11-12, the “righteous ones” in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 10, “the upright” from 4Q511 10 7-8 (Angel 11 7-8); 60 1 (Angel 12 1), and the “wise” from 4Q511 3 3-4.

Known benevolent figures also feature in the texts selected for this thesis. The maskil is a notorious character from other texts in the DSS (e.g. Damascus Document, Rule of the Community, the Rule of Blessings (1QSb), Hodayot, etc.) and is portrayed in the magical texts related to evil beings. He is the one responsible for performing the song in 4Q510 1 4, with a first person announcement “I am the/a Maskil, who makes known His glorious splendour so as to frighten and to te[rify]”. This figure is one for whom the songs are intended at 4Q511 2i 1-2 (Angel 1 1-2), similarly to 1QS 3:13. In both instances the maskil acts as a human capable of channelling a part of God’s power in order to fight evil beings, a role that is also fulfilled by other agents, as described below.

God also features as an important figure in the magical texts related to evil beings. God’s presence is the ultimate source of power in the struggle against evil influences. References to God further occur in the form of second masculine singular suffixes in 8Q5 1 1 (Your name) and 2 6 (and all the spirits facing You). God is likely the one sealing something in 4Q511 30 1-3 (Angel 8 1-3). God is also referenced in 4Q444 1–4 Col. i + 5 (Col. I) 1, where actively fearing God is what empowers the person in the fight against evil beings.

Conclusion

8.4.2 Malevolent Active Beings

Just as we found references to known benevolent figures, some known evil beings are also portrayed in the magical texts related to evil beings. One of the surprising findings of this study is the limited importance given to the most “famous” evil beings that dominate the narratives of long known texts from Qumran and beyond. The name of the predominant evil antagonist in the DSS, Belial, is only preserved entirely in one example in 6Q18 3 3, without preserving any context. However, as a result of the figure’s importance in the DSS, Belial is often reconstructed in other passages. In some of the examples the reconstruction can be made with confidence, as in 11Q11 6:3 (sons of Belial). In other passages the reconstruction is less certain, as in 4Q511 103. A puzzling example is 11Q11 5:5, where Belial is often reconstructed. However, the reading is more likely reconstructed as “night”, as reconstructed by the editors of DJD 23. Satan has also been reconstructed in the same line, but this reconstruction is equally uncertain, and the reconstruction “the heavens” proposed by the editors of DJD 23 is more likely. Although it is likely that some references to Belial in the magical texts related to evil beings have been lost, the relative “silence” on the presence of this figure is an indication that it was not a dominant figure in this group of texts.

One reference is preserved to another important evil figure known from other texts in the DSS. Thus, mastemah is preserved without any preserved context in 6Q8 9. Consequently it is not possible to determine whether this is a reference to a being or to the noun “adversity”. Another “famous” evil being that is mentioned in the magical texts related to evil beings is Lilith. “Lilith” appears in 4Q510 1 5 as a reference to a type of evil being in a

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long list³ and with no evidence of her later role as chief succubus or as the “first wife of adam”. The connection with sexuality and Lilith is not present in the magical texts related to evil beings, but sexual misconduct is possibly quoted in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 8, which refers to “spirits of the impurity” and in 4Q511 24 where the word “lewdness” is preserved in proximity to “spirits”. A previously unknown evil is the “destroyer” from 4Q511 3 5–7, an agent connected to the “spirits of wickedness”.

In addition, the word *ruah* is also used to refer to evil beings. Six different types of evil spirits are mentioned, the “spirits of the destroying angels”, the “spirits of the bastards” in 4Q510 1 5–6, the “spirits of wickedness” in 4Q511 1 6 (Angel 3 6) and 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4, the “spirit of impurity” in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 8, the “spirits of dispute” in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 2, and the spirits who are part of “its/hers dominion” in 4Q511 1 3 (Angel 3 3). The role of each type or their activities are not entirely clear, but at least two types of “spirits” are possibly related to the human body, i.e., the “spirits of dispute” and the “spirits of impurity”. This terminology is exclusive to 4Q444 and seems to refer to the physicality of the threat of evil beings.

One of the most notorious passages referring to evil beings in the DSS is the list in 4Q510 1 5–6, and reconstructed in 4Q511 10 (Angel 10). This list attests to the plurality of types of evil beings. The use of different terms is a clear indication that there was no unifying expression to refer to all evil beings, and that evil beings were considered as both distinct and yet clearly part of a category. The list refers to at least seven types of evil beings (all the spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers, those which fall

³4Q510 1 5–6a “all the spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, desert howlers and [] and those which fall upon men without warning”.

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upon men without warning and a seventh that was not preserved). Lists are powerful tools⁴ in times of fear and anxiety, especially with reference to unseen threats. The list in 4Q510 could be a form of organizing and classifying evil beings as a means of controlling them in a symbolic way probably during a ritual. Remains of another list likely appear in 11Q11 2:3, as noted by Pajunen,⁵ but the material is too fragmentary to comment on further.

Hierarchy is another aspect related to evil beings common in medieval and modern studies on “demons” but less prominent (or even: absent?) in the magical texts related to evil beings. Instead of an organized hierarchy, what is clear is that there are some types of power structures revealed in expressions like “dominion” from 4Q511. Power is an aspect relevant but not central to the understanding of evil beings and their function. The choice of ממשלה reinforces such a non-personified approach, since the term focuses on the dominion and not in his ruler. The low attestation of references to figures like Belial and Mastemah, figures portrayed as chiefs of evil in other texts from Qumran (see e.g. 1Q33 1:1 for Belial and Jub 10:5 for Mastemah), can be related to an approach that does not focus on power figures. The term “dominion” is also used to describe the present time in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 7, 4Q511 10 3–4 (Angel 11 3–4), 4Q510 1 6–8, 4Q511 35 8 (Angel 5 8), which implies that the present is ruled by evil.

In some passages in 4Q511 (4Q511 11 4–5, 111 6–7(Angel 6 6–7) and 121 3) a group of evil beings is defined by the fear they cause in humans. Fear is a tool that can be used against humans and also one that can be used against evil beings on the part of benevolent agents. I

⁴ Jokiranta, “Ritualization and the Power of Listing in 4QBerakhot (4Q286),” 455.

⁵ Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon,” 139.

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will return to this point in the debate on the general aspects of the magical texts related to evil beings below. It is not possible to establish whether the fear inducing group is composed of otherworldly beings, humans or a mixture of both, but it is clear that they pose a danger to humans.

The sense of danger, insecurity, and constant threat is even clearer in “those who fall upon men without warning”, another group of evil beings portrayed in 4Q510, 4Q511 and 6Q18. Evil beings are often described as terrifying and unnatural. Those characteristics are depicted in Babylonian sources with the use of animalistic features or by using animals as evil beings. In 4Q510 a type of unidentified animal, the “desert howlers”, appear as part of a list of evil beings. However, it is 11Q11 that preserves the majority of examples of animals as evil beings. “Serpent” is mentioned with no context on 11Q11 1:5, and many animals are part of 11Q11 6:11-12 (Psalm 91). Some characteristics from animals are also used in 11Q11 5 to physically describe an evil being. This text attests one of the earliest mentions of horns being used to depict an evil being, which will become more common during the middle ages and modern images.

In later texts the term *šd* will be used to describe “demons” in general. In the magical texts related to evil beings *šd* is one element in a list of beings in 4Q510. It is more likely that for the author of 4Q510 *šd* was a specific type of evil, and that is why it is quoted in a list, as discussed above. 11Q11 preserves a reference to *šd*, but here it is not possible to determine whether it refers to a generic denomination of evil beings or a specific type.

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Evil beings are described in Babylonian and later Aramaic sources as responsible for diseases.⁶ This ability of evil beings is less prominent in Second Temple period sources analysed in this thesis but 4Q560 and 11Q11 attest that such a belief existed in the period. Connections of 4Q560 with later magical Aramaic formulae are not only found in the references to evil beings causing diseases but are reinforced by the mention of male and female pairs of evil beings. This way of including the genders of beings is a form of expanding the protection of a spell by encompassing references to many types of creatures.⁷

One puzzling description that is likely referring to evil beings is found in 6Q18 2 4, where someone is described as displaying a single minded devotion to darkness. This is possibly part of a process of referring to the guilty ways of a human; however the lack of context for the expression makes it difficult to determine its meaning. Similarly puzzling is the reference in 8Q5 to a being that is “making the light cease”.

8.5 Other Beings

The other category used to analyse the beings portrayed in the magical texts related to evil are other agents. The position of non-active agents in a text, which includes a being that is suffering, includes humans (usually being attacked by evil beings) as well as evil beings (often being subdued or destroyed).

8.5.1 Other Benevolent Beings

As with the expressions referring to active beings, many of the expressions used to describe other beings need to be complemented in order to clarify whether they are referring to

⁶ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 628.

⁷ Penney and Wise, “By the Power of Beelzebub,” 639.

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benevolent or malevolent creatures. “Sons of” is an example of this type of expression. “Son of” is used in the singular to refer to “son of Isaac” in 6Q18. The reference is not very clear but it is possible that it is a way of identifying the subject as part of Israel.

One term that is common in the DSS is “sons of light”, an expression used sometimes as a synonym for the community related to the Scrolls. Comparable to figures such as Mastemah and Belial, which play a significant role in the DSS and yet are attested very infrequently in the magical texts related to evil beings, “sons of light” is preserved only once, in 4Q510. The group are portrayed as suffering the “times of humiliation”, that are also connected to a dominion of evil beings and wickedness, as discussed in chapter 4. Many scholars argue based on this passage that 4Q510 (and by extension 4Q511) is a text devoted to the protection of the “sons of light”.⁸ I believe that this view is an overstatement when applied to 4Q511 since “sons of light” is not preserved in that composition.

Groups of beings described by words such as “nation”, “congregation”, “council” and “assembly” are mostly benevolent, with the exception of “congregation of bastards” in 4Q511 35 7 (Angel 5 7). These groups are all portrayed in passive situations. In many of the examples, such as 4Q511 44-47 2 (Angel 9 2) and 4Q511 48+49+51+53 (Angel 10 1), it is not clear whether the group is made up of humans only or whether allowance is made for the presence of otherworldly beings. The reference to a group can also be a way of self-identification. This is clear only in one example in 6Q18 14 2, “our congregation” but not much context has been preserved.

⁸ Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 344; Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms”; Angel, “Maskil, Community, and Religious Experience in the Songs of the Sage (4Q510-511),” 3.

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In the very fragmentary passage 11Q11 2:7 a nation (“his nation”, likely Solomon’s since he is referred to in the same psalm) is possibly being cured. This is the second psalm preserved in 11Q11 and the only one from the scroll to include any national reference. 11Q11 2:9 also partially preserves Israel, but no context remains. Thinking about self-identification and communal representation, Israel is mentioned three more times in 4Q511. Two of those references are probably part of the same psalm since they occur in the same fragment, 4Q511 2ii 9-10 (Angel 2 9-10). Not only Israel is mentioned, but also a specific group within it, i.e. the “upright of Israel”. The term Yahad is mentioned only once in the magical texts related to evil being, in a passage close to Israel in 4Q511 2i 5-9 (Angel 1 5-9). The passage is likely referring to Israel as part of a historical narrative, recounting the events of the division of the twelve tribes (here referred to as the twelve camps) that preceded the “dominion of the Yahad”.

8.5.2 Other Malevolent Beings

Another important group in the DSS are “the sons of Belial”. Only one reference to this group is partially preserved in the magical texts related to evil beings in 11Q11 6:3 where it is partially reconstructed. The group is mentioned at the end of a psalm. If the psalm is following the structure of later incantations,⁹ the end of the psalm is where the evil being is described as destroyed or incarcerated, which would put the “sons of Belial” in a passive position. Other malevolent groups of beings that are described by “sons of” are the “sons of injustice”. They are described in a passive position as “the ones who will not be sustained” in 4Q511 3 8.

⁹ Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, 248–49.

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Given we came across a group of active evil beings characterised as “those who fall upon men without warning” in 4Q511 and 4Q510, it is not unexpected that the same texts also include references to “the befallen”. In 4Q511 11 8 “the befallen” are mentioned in a fragmentary context. This demonstrates that at least one psalm in 4Q511 is devoted to the befallen, the people who are tormented by evil beings.

Malevolent beings are mentioned as passive when being destroyed or imprisoned. The “wicked” are made to dread and are condemned in 4Q511 12 1 and 4Q511 63iii 4 (Angel 15 4). It is not clear whether they are otherworldly or not. Similarly the bastards are also portrayed more commonly as passive agents. This unauthorized offspring of the angels with the daughters of men known from the narrative in Gen 6 and expanded in 1 Enoch are usually referred to as “bastards”. After being destroyed in the flood, a part of the spirits of the bastards are described as becoming evil beings. Due to the importance of this narrative the term “bastards” came to be used as a reference to evil beings. In the magical texts related to evil beings there is one reference to “the congregation of bastards” in 4Q511 2ii 3 (Angel 2 3) that is not repeated elsewhere. It is not clear from the passage whether they were active or passive. They are mentioned twice as passive agents in 4Q511 35 7 (Angel 5 7) and in 4Q511 48+49+51+53 3 (Angel 10:3), in both cases being subdued. 6Q18 1 6 mentions someone being subdued, but the identity of the figure is not preserved.

The description of destruction, imprisonment or banishment of evil beings is a common feature in magical texts from later periods. From the perspective of the function of magic, the description is at the same time a way to frighten the evil beings when they hear the text being performed and a definition of the boundaries of the magical text, characterizing what that text is capable of. 11Q11 4:4-12 describes that an evil being will be taken “down to the

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great deep” for eternity, and 4Q511 20ii 3-4 mentions “breaking” and “coming apart”.

Noticeable is that 11Q11 mentions a periodization, “forever”, while 4Q511 has preserved no reference to any timeframe, possibly due to the fragmentary state of the passage.

In some passages it is not possible to say whether they are dealing with benevolent or malevolent beings. One particular creature is described as “moulded of clay and from darkness kneaded”, which resembles the *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* an emphasis of the frailty of the human creatureliness and sinful nature as opposed to God’s glory attested in a number of texts from Qumran (e.g. 1QS 11:21-22 (4Q264 8-10); 1QH^a 20:27-31). However, the inclusion of a reference to darkness as part of an account of the creaturely origins from clay is unique to 4Q511 28-29 4 (Angel 7 4), and evokes a being that is created from darkness, and is possibly evil in some way.

8.6 Means for Fending Off Danger

The threat posed by evil beings that emerges from the texts studied in this thesis is demonstrated firstly by the existence of magical texts for protection. Secondly, we note the palpability of the actions that are capable of keeping evil beings away. Those actions are deeply embedded in performance. After mapping the agents and their roles in the magical texts related to evil beings, the last chapter of the thesis focussed on understanding the means for fending off danger that emerge from the texts. On a practical level, how would people seek protection against evil beings? Are there any traces of this in the material we have? To better understand the evidence the chapter was divided in three main categories, all related to action in some way.

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8.6.1 Liturgical and Formulaic Elements

Liturgical elements can be used in magical practices, since both concepts are closely related. However whereas liturgy is understood as a systematic use of rituals for public performance,¹⁰ magic refers to any action intended to alter the physical world. Some liturgical and formulaic elements are used for protection such as the uttering of blessings. In a way, to bless is, as defined by Nitzan, a weapon of protection, seeing that it is an act that can keep evil beings at bay. Blessings are portrayed in 4Q511 as actions that can be both communal, as in 4Q511 1 1-4 (Angel 3 1-4), and individual, as in 4Q511 63-64ii (Angel 14 2-3), and in both cases the blessings are used in times of distress. Curses operate in a similar way to blessings. To curse someone is a form of excluding that being from a group. 4Q444 1-4i + 5i 5 and 4Q444 6 3 note explicitly that cursing is a way to ward off evil beings and uses it in a formulaic manner while in 4Q511 11 and 11Q11 4:10 we find a description and delimitation of curses, but not a formula.

Late Aramaic magic will use the adjuring of evil beings as a central magical action, and the DSS have at least one example of it. 4Q560 preserves an “adjuring” scene with a speaker in the first person conducting it. 4Q511 35 6 preserves the word *myr’y*, that appears to play a similar role to “adjuring” in later magical texts, and it is possible that it functions in this way here. The act of adjuring an evil being is an exorcistic act, and it is safe to assume from the presence of the above mentioned words that at least one psalm in 4Q511 and a part of 4Q560 served an exorcistic purpose.

¹⁰ Daniel K. Falk, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy,” 634.

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The mention of known figures is a way to infuse the text with power. In the case of 11Q11 Solomon is mentioned in 11Q11 2:2. This is possibly one of the earliest references to Solomon connected to evil beings,¹¹ a connection that will become more common in later texts. David is also mentioned in 11Q11 (11Q11 5:4). David was already connected to apotropaic measures in 1 Sam 16:23 and he is said to have composed four songs “to be sung over the stricken” according to 11QPs^a 27:9-10. This connection between David and apotropaic songs is a central argument for ascribing 11Q11 to David.¹² Considering all the elements of 11Q11 it is unlikely a Davidic composition.¹³ In both cases the names of Solomon and David are likely used as a way of infusing the text with power. Other mentions of both figures show, however, that they were humans capable of channelling power given by God for apotropaic purposes, similarly to the maskil, in 4Q510 1 4 and 4Q511 2i 1-2(Angel 1 1-2). Another liturgical element is the use of the formula “amen amen” in 4Q511 11i 9 (Angel 6 9), 4Q511 63iv (Angel 16) and 11Q11 6:14, which forms part of a scenario that comprised communal speech acts. Speech, voice and sound are also fundamental elements of music.

8.6.2 Musical Actions

Music is another element that is implied by the words chosen in the magical texts related to evil beings. 4Q511 63iii (Angel 15) uses the term רָנַן (cry for joy), which is accompanied by musical instruments in Ps 81; 4Q511 35 4-5 (Angel 5 4-5) and 6Q18 6 5, 4Q511 35 (Angel 5) uses the word הָלַל (praise, sing a song of joy); in 4Q510 1:9 the word תְּהִלָּה (song) is used;

¹¹ Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms,” 211.

¹² Puech, “11QPsAp - un rituel d’exorcismes”; Fröhlich, “Healing with Psalms.”

¹³ Pajunen, “How to Expel a Demon.”

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4Q511 (4Q511 2i 1 (Angel 1 1) and 4Q511 8 4) use the word שִׁיר (song). Such a wealth of words connected to music indicates that music was a central element. Music is directly related to apotropaic, and maybe exorcistic, action in 4Q511 8 4, which explicitly states that this one particular song was to “frighten those who terrify”. The musical element is further reinforced by the mention of a lyre in 4Q511 10 8 (Angel 11 8).

8.6.3 Weaponized Elements

In order to fight evil beings humans needed access to a variety of tools or weapons. Some activities are weaponized, such as fear, knowledge, and the statutes of God. Fear is certainly a key aspect. It is used as a tool in 8Q5 1 1 and 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 1, enabling the speaker to access God’s protection.

Other element are the statutes of God, which are the means by which people should find strength to fight evil beings in 4Q444 1–4i + 5i 4. The idea of using the laws of God as a fortifying attribute is also a possible reading for 4Q511 63-64. It is not clear if knowing and following the statutes of God was enough for protection, or if the written laws had any special power. Knowing the statutes of God was certainly important, but knowledge in general features as an element in the battle against evil forces. Knowing and knowledge are referred to in 11Q11 3 5-8, 4Q511 2i (Angel 1 2) and 6Q18 5 3, and it is a feature that, in a similar role as fear, enables the speaker to access the means to fight evil beings.

Magical objects are not explicitly referred to in the magical texts related to evil beings from Qumran. It is possible that performance of protection did not involve objects, but it is also possible that no need was felt to spell this out since such objects were taken for granted – or that this knowledge was secret. We also lack complete descriptions of any complex rituals beyond the use of particular words and possibly music. Clear accounts noting that writing

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was important are also lacking. Aids to magic practice are described in Tobit, of which five copies were found in Qumran (4Q196- 4Q200). Magical objects and rituals are certainly known and practiced, but likely not recorded. The reason Tobit offers more details is likely because it is a prose narrative composed for the purpose of portraying the actions of the protagonists in some detail. Another possibility is that some of the magical rituals for protection were performed only based on the power of words, something that is attested in modern exorcistic practices. On the other hand, 6Q18 11 2 mentions a sword, which could be an instrument used magically or another element showing how the struggle against evil beings was perceived as physical and connected to the military realm.

8.7 General Aspects

This study has identified the different forms of evil beings that emerge from the magical texts related to evil beings. The resulting picture has revealed a variety of beings and forms of protection. It is problematic to attempt to unify the picture and to portray the phenomena as a coherent scheme. What emerges clearly is that more than one type of evil being existed at the same time, and it is likely that different individuals understood the dangers in different ways. Naming and listing evil beings, as discussed above, was likely a way to organize and gain power over them, a way of coping with the stress of being constantly in danger. We confirm the absence of a well-organized “demonology” as described by Alexander,¹⁴ and the beings which make humans sin, create diseases etc. are not of one type. Evil emanates from many sources.

¹⁴ Alexander, “The Demonology of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

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The texts we studied do not attest a standard organized classification. This does not mean that people lacked understanding about their own beliefs or that those beliefs were poorly developed. Despite the fragmentary state of the evidence, it is clear that the picture that emerges is of an array of miscellaneous traditions.

It is clear that key figures such as Belial and Mastemah frequently attested in the larger corpus of DSS or from later texts on evil beings (such as Satan or Lilith) are not as prominent in the magical texts related to evil beings as one might have expected. It is, of course, possible that further references to Belial, Mastemah etc. have been lost. However, the variety of other figures and groups that are portrayed favours the hypothesis that the magical texts from this period were more concerned with categories of different kinds of agents, mostly in groups, rather than dominant personified figures.

The general picture is also less neatly dualistic. Evil and good are clearly opposed to one another, but the texts do not necessarily present a dualistic view. Opposing forces are mentioned, but in none of the passages does an evil figure appear to challenge the power of God. It is also noticeable also that the spirits are not defined by the pair of “light” and “darkness”. Darkness alone- as preserved- does play a significant role even from human creation (“moulded of clay and from darkness kneaded” in 4Q511 28-29 4 (Angel 7 4)) as well as a form of inclination (“d]arkness of ou[r] (single minded) devotion” in 6Q18 2 4). Darkness is also part of fate and the essence of malevolent beings, but the opposition to light is not developed. Light is made to cease in 8Q5 1 3, “and why do you cause his light to cease”, but it is not clear who is causing this and who is affected. Furthermore, there is a single reference to the “the sons of lig[ht]” in 4Q510 1 7. The passage informs us that the

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“sons of light” are the ones suffering humiliation during the dominion of wickedness and are likely the ones who intended to be protected by the song.

The beings mentioned in the texts offer more allusive access to undetermined evil, creating a comprehensive atmosphere of fear, rather than focusing on a particular specific type of evil being. In this context it is important to notice that the mention of personified beings, such as Belial in 1QS, does not exclude this pervasive sense of fear/threat. We can conclude that in the texts we studied the protection sought is directed at all evil beings and not against a particular/specific types or individuals. From this point of view it is likely that we are dealing with apotropaic measures rather than exorcistic ones, with the exception of 4Q560.

An important exception on the subject of personalization is 11Q11, which refers to Solomon, David, and possibly Belial. Th is text is an exception in being the only one of the texts studied here to testify to a development towards greater emphasis on personified or prominent figures.¹⁵

Another interesting aspect is that the representation of angels, even when portrayed together with humans, is often related to military vocabulary and context. This characteristic points to the understanding of angels as connected to military actions, comparable to the role of angels in Dan 10-11 and in the War Scroll. It also shows how evil beings were seen as a danger conceived in martial terms.

¹⁵ Collins notice that this tendency of personification also shows more frequently in the first century CE Pesharim. Matthew A. Collins, *The Use of Sobriquets in the Qumran Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2012).

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From the profile of texts outlined in chapter 7 it is clear that the two types of functions that a text can have, namely apotropaic and exorcistic, need to be understood in conjunction with the role of a 'performer' or 'facilitator'. Moreover, the aim of the text can change according to the performer/facilitator. Thus, a text can be composed to be apotropaic when performed by the general public and exorcistic when performed by a specific person (e.g. 11Q11, 8Q5). Another possibility is that a text is composed to be exclusively performed by a particular individual (e.g. a maskil in the case of the second song in 4Q510, some songs in 4Q511, 6Q18).

Another aspect of the dual function of some texts is the possibility that some apotropaic texts functioned also as amulets. For example the text in a manuscript would be used to conduct an exorcism, and afterwards the scroll itself could be used as an amulet, an apotropaic aid to keep evil beings at bay.

More than the possibility of being susceptible to the actions of evil beings, the atmosphere that emerges from the texts we studied is of danger and fear. Evil beings are not confined to act only in the night. You can be "befallen" by them in many moments throughout the day. They can also attack without warning, creating a constant tension among people. Following God's path is a way of protection, but danger remains palpable, real and constant.

Fear plays a major role in this context. Fear and the ability to terrify defines evil beings. At the same time fear is a state created by God against His opponents or apostates. Thus, fear is both the aspect that defines evil beings and the threat they pose and one of the weapons that can be used to combat them.

Considering all the different aspects related to evil beings in the DSS, the present study should prove to be particularly valuable for understanding how the belief in evil beings is

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represented. More than that, this thesis demonstrates the palpability of those beliefs, as well as the overwhelming prevalence of fear. Performance was a major element when dealing with the threat of evil beings, and likely a part of all ancient religion. Magical actions were embedded into daily life. Protection could be acquired with special words pronounced in special ways, with musical activities and with activities that are lost to us.

The questions raised by this thesis open up fruitful paths for further work. It would be interesting to assess other psalms in the DSS from the perspective of this study, especially considering the role played by music in apotropaic contexts. Another possible area of future research would be to investigate the relation of law and apotropaic measures, as well as a fresh look at known texts from the perspective of the vocabulary that is connected to evil beings.

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